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Public Commemorations of the Scottish Wars of Independence, 1800-1939

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is my own, and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Laura S Harrison

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Abstract

Marinell Ash famously referred to the latter half of the nineteenth century as experiencing a 'strange death' in interest in the Scottish historical past, but increasing evidence suggests this was not an entirely fair assessment. Rather than 'dying', interest in the past was expressed in ways beyond the club books, texts, and other antiquarian pursuits that were the focus of Ash's work, and instead were taken up by more public displays of commemoration. This thesis examines the public commemorations of the medieval Scottish Wars of Independence, one of the more popular historical periods during the time Ash was referring to. By considering the types of commemorations dedicated to this conflict that were created during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and how they changed over time, this thesis shows how identity was performed in Scotland during this period at local and national levels, as well as how events and figures from the Middle Ages could be sculpted to fit a variety of ambitions.

The main empirical section of this thesis is divided into three chapters, which are dictated by the ways in which commemorations are interacted with by the public. The first chapter examines immovable commemorations: permanent, fixed features of the built environment. The commemorations in this chapter include monuments, murals, stained-glass windows, and other features on buildings, all of which have a (theoretical) permanence because they are in fixed locations. The second chapter is focused on intangible commemorations: the ceremonial aspects of commemoration, particularly anniversaries and the opening of monuments, which are the most performative types of commemoration. The final chapter is concerned with the movable paraphernalia of commemoration: those objects that could be passed between people or locations. This chapter examines texts (including club books, novels, song books, poetry, and chapbooks), paintings, and relics.

This thesis sets the commemoration of the Wars of Independence against the changing political, religious, and cultural landscape of Scotland from 1800 to

1939. Placing the public at the centre of the study of these commemorative acts allows new insights into the importance of local history in the performance of identity, and the ways in which different sections of society engaged with commemorations. It also provides a framework that illustrates the benefits of undertaking an exhaustive study of the commemorations for one historical period. In this way, this thesis joins a growing field that recognises the value in how commemorations reveal contemporary attitudes. Significance does not require historical accuracy when it comes to acts of commemoration. During a period of widespread commemorative efforts for historical conflicts, as well as an increasing use of the medieval past from the full span of the political spectrum, this thesis is therefore well placed to demonstrate the potential effects of commemorating the medieval past in the present.

Lay Summary

This thesis examines the public commemorations of the medieval Scottish Wars of Independence from 1800 to 1939. By considering the types of commemorations dedicated to this conflict, and how they changed over time, this thesis shows how identity was performed in Scotland during this period at local and national levels, as well as how events and figures from the Middle Ages could be sculpted to fit a variety of ambitions. This thesis is divided into three chapters, which are dictated by the ways in which commemorations are interacted with by the public. The first chapter examines immovable commemorations: permanent, fixed features of the built environment. The second chapter is focused on intangible commemorations: the ceremonial aspects of commemoration. The final chapter is concerned with the movable paraphernalia of commemoration: those objects that could be passed between people or locations. Placing the public at the centre of the study of these commemorative acts allows new insights into the importance of local history in the performance of identity, and the ways in which different sections of society engaged with commemorations. It also provides a framework that illustrates the benefits of undertaking an exhaustive study of the commemorations for one historical period. During a period of widespread commemorative efforts for historical conflicts, as well as an increasing use of the medieval past from the full span of the political spectrum, this thesis is therefore well placed to demonstrate the potential effects of commemorating the medieval past in the present.

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List of Abbreviations

NAVSR	National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NSA	*New Statistical Account of Scotland*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OS	Ordnance Survey
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*

Chapter One
Introduction – The Role of Commemoration

In 1928, plans were revealed for statues of William Wallace and King Robert I (Robert the Bruce) to be placed in niches in the walls of Edinburgh castle. In response, a number of letters were sent to *The Scotsman* that both praised and criticised the plans. In a response letter the sculptor Alexander Carrick suggested 'it is significance, not historical accuracy of detail, that is sought.'[1] In other words, the meaning portrayed by the statues was far more important than any historical information they might convey. Carrick's statement reflects fundamental questions about the role of commemorations: to what extent do they influence public opinion of a person or event from the past? Are they only used to give significance to an aspect of the past, or are they also sites of historical learning? Questions about the role of commemorations in public history have become particularly relevant in recent years, during the centenary of the First World War. Keith Jeffrey has written about the tensions between remembering and glorifying the First World War and has argued 'this debate exposed the problematic commemoration of the Great War in the UK.'[2] This idea of commemorations being problematic did not, of course, only emerge during the centenary. Given the public and ceremonial nature of commemorations, they often become a space where disagreements about how people and events from the past should be remembered are reconciled.

At its core 'commemoration' refers to efforts to remember and memorialise the past. Commemorative acts often memorialise the very recent past, such as the call for commemorations that was issued while the South African War was still occurring in the early twentieth century, but they can also commemorate events that are far removed.[3] This thesis is concerned with the latter category, and how commemorations of the medieval past affected Scots and the idea of Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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[1] 'Letters from Readers,' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 9 Jan 1928.
[2] K. Jeffrey, (2015) 'Commemoration in the United Kingdom: A multitude of memories,' *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50:3, 564.
[3] E.W. McFarland, (2010) 'Commemoration of the South African War in Scotland, 1900-10,' *SHR* 89, 195.

Specifically, it examines public commemorations of the Scottish Wars of Independence in Scotland from 1800 to 1939, a period that can be characterised by the many public commemorations that were created during this time.[4] Marinell Ash famously referred to the latter half of the nineteenth century as experiencing a 'strange death' in terms of interest in the Scottish historical past, but increasing evidence suggests this was not an entirely fair assessment.[5] Rather than dying, interest in the past went beyond the club books and other antiquarian pursuits that were the focus of Ash's work, and instead were taken up by more public displays of commemoration. This thesis considers the types of commemorations dedicated to the Wars of Independence that were created between 1800 and 1939, in order to illustrate ways in which identity was expressed in Scotland during this period at local and national levels, as well as how events and figures from the Middle Ages could be sculpted to fit a variety of ambitions.

The structure of this thesis is dictated by the ways in which members of the public interacted with different types of commemorative acts. This allows consideration of which types of commemoration different groups of people were most likely to interact with, and thus the different ways in which they encountered information about the Wars of Independence. The main body of this thesis is split into three chapters, based on the movability of the commemorative acts, and thus how the public would have interacted with them. The first is immovable commemorations, which refers to permanent, fixed aspects of the built environment. The two parts of this section – architectural ornamentation and monuments – all have a (theoretical) permanency in that they are in fixed locations. The next chapter is focused on immaterial acts of commemoration, or the ceremonial nature of memorialisation, particularly anniversaries and the opening of monuments. Ceremonies represent the performative aspect of commemoration. The final chapter looks at 'portable

[4] Throughout the thesis the term 'Wars of Independence' will be used. Though the focus is almost exclusively on the first War of Independence, from 1296 to 1328, this term will be used as it is the popular term.
[5] M. Ash, (1980) *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head).

monuments,' or the movable paraphernalia of commemoration.[6] This includes texts, art, and historical relics associated with people from the Wars. The portability of these objects is varied, for example a book could be placed on a bookshelf and never read or could get passed between many people. In addition to the introduction and conclusion, this thesis will also feature a second introductory chapter, which outlines the historical background within which these commemorative acts were taking place.

This thesis sets the public commemoration of the Wars of Independence against the changing political, religious, and cultural landscape of Scotland from 1800 to 1939, in order to understand why the medieval past was being memorialised in this period. Placing the public at the centre of the study of these commemorative acts allows new insights into this critical period in Scottish history. Though commemorations can take place publicly or privately, they are largely based on the notion of the importance of widespread remembrance. Ann Rigney has suggested commemoration is based on 'the idea that "being remembered" is more than a matter of being recorded in some archive.'[7] There is a sense that the memory of some people and events from the past should not be left solely to historians and scholars, but rather also be present in the minds of the public. James Coleman has suggested the public nature of commemoration is what gives these acts power.[8] Large-scale public commemoration in the form of collective memory, or 'social remembrance,' is a critical element of nation-building, a process that partially defines the nineteenth century in Scotland.[9]

The Wars of Independence are one of the most well-known time periods in Scottish history, and the afterlives of people and events from this period have been the subject of a number of scholarly works.[10] This field has been largely

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[6] A. Rigney, (2004) 'Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans,' *Poetics Today* 25:2.
[7] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 368.
[8] J.J. Coleman, (2014) *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 13.
[9] D. Knox, (2006) 'The Sacralised Landscapes of Glencoe,' *International Journal of Tourism Research* 8:3, 195.
[10] The use of the term 'afterlives' was inspired by J. Smith, (2003) 'Textual Afterlives: Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*,' in *Scots: Studies in its Literature and Language*, ed. J.M. Kirk and I.

driven by Graeme Morton's work on Wallace, particularly literary depictions of his life and achievements.[11] Morton's work on the legacy of Wallace influenced the methodology of this study, particularly his use of a variety of sources across a long period of time.[12] He has illustrated how the history of Wallace has been used/changed/adapted since his execution in 1305, as well as the innumerable ways it has been used both within Scotland and beyond. Morton's focus on Wallace also helped determine that the focus of this thesis would include other people and events from the Wars of Independence, in order to consider how their legacies compare to that of Wallace's. In addition to Morton's works, Wallace has also been the focus of a number of other recent studies. Ted Cowan's edited volume *The Wallace Book* from 2007 explored a number of aspects of Wallace's afterlife, particularly Richard Finlay's chapter where he considered Wallace's recent popularity.[13] James Fraser has written an article on the earliest sources available for Wallace's life, particularly the influence of the *Gesta Annalia* II.[14] Michael Penman has written several articles on the afterlife of Bruce, though Wallace is also included in his work. His article 'Reputations in Scottish History: King Robert the Bruce' is largely a historiography of what has been written about Bruce from the Middle Ages to 1945.[15] In 'Robert Bruce's Bones' he examined how both Bruce and Wallace were portrayed in the nineteenth century.[16] Murray Pittock considered Bruce in his wider look at the

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Macleod (New York: Rodopi); M. Penman, (2005) 'Reputations in Scottish History: King Robert the Bruce (1274-1329),' *Études Écossaises* 10.

[11] G. Morton, (2014) *William Wallace: A National Tale* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press); G. Morton, (2001) *William Wallace: Man and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing); G. Morton, (1998) 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth-Century Scotland,' *SHR* 77.

[12]Morton, *William Wallace: A National Tale*; Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth*; G. Morton, (2012) 'The Social Memory of Jane Porter and her Scottish Chiefs,' *SHR* 91; Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot.'

[13] R.J. Finlay, (2007) 'The Wallace Cult in the Twentieth Century,' in *The Wallace Book,* ed. E.J. Cowan (Edinburgh: Birlinn)*;* See also: R.J. Finlay, (1994) 'Controlling the Past: Scottish Historiography and Scottish Identity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,' *Scottish Affairs* 9:1.

[14] J.E. Fraser, (2002) ''A Swan from a Raven': William Wallace, Brucean Propaganda, and *Gesta Annalia* II,' *SHR* 81.

[15] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,'10.

[16] M.A. Penman, (2009) 'Robert Bruce's Bones: Reputations, Politics and Identities in Nineteenth-Century Scotland,' *International Review of Scottish Studies* 34.

Stuarts in *The Invention of Scotland*.[17] Marinell Ash's chapter in *The Myths We Live By* was one of the first studies about the afterlives of Wallace and Bruce.[18] Recently, James Coleman compared the events of the Wars of Independence to other periods of the Scottish past that are popularly commemorated, including the Reformation, the Covenanters, and the Jacobites. [19] *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth Century Scotland*, and his preceding doctoral thesis from the University of Glasgow, have both been influential to this study as they are largely focused on public monuments and anniversaries.[20] Coleman's focus is on how Scottish Presbyterianism affected commemoration, so it provides a useful comparison to this study, which focuses more on political and personal influences on commemoration.

Despite all of this work that considers aspects of the commemoration of the Wars of Independence, there has yet to be a study that includes the majority of the people and events of the wars in addition to the majority of the commemorative acts. Though Coleman looked at the Wars in general, he focused on monuments and anniversaries, while Morton looked at more types of commemorations, but was chiefly focused on Wallace. As Michael Penman suggested in 2005, 'further themes and periods in the formation of Bruce's reputation remain to be fully studied.'[21] Part of the distinctive contribution of this thesis, then, is that it brings together these two approaches to illustrate the benefits of undertaking an exhaustive study of the commemorative acts for the entirety of a historical period. In this way, this thesis joins a growing field that recognises the value in studying how commemorations reveal contemporary attitudes.

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[17] M. Pittock, (1991) *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge).
[18] M. Ash, (1990) 'William Wallace and Robert the Bruce,' in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. R. Samuel and P. Thompson (London: Routledge).
[19] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*; J.J. Coleman, (2005) *The Double Life of the Scottish Past*, PhD thesis (University of Glasgow).
[20] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 16.
[21] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 17.

1.1: Memory and the Nation

This thesis is chiefly concerned with how the past is remembered, so the role of myth and memory help form the basis in understanding the motivations for commemoration. This will form the first section of the following literature review, which will briefly outline the works from the most pertinent areas of research to this study, including commemoration, national identity, and medievalism. Smaller literature reviews will accompany each chapter, which focus on each of the source types.

Memory, Myth and Commemoration

Commemorations create, perpetuate, and invoke memories. In turn, these memories are used to form identity, whether personal or collective. As Stefan Goebel has so succinctly suggested, 'remembrance is a process; memory, the product.'[22] Pierre Nora famously said we are in the 'age of commemoration,' arguing the turbulent events of the twentieth century led to a new consciousness about the past, which in turn led to a growth in the remembrance of that past.[23] Nora thought history was commemorated to show continuity between the past and the present, which gave a sense of stability.[24] He later furthered this line of thought by suggesting that memory and history 'appear now to be in fundamental opposition,' as history is always a reconstruction of a memory.[25] Maurice Halbwachs was one of the first to consider the field of memory studies.[26] Halbwachs was partially concerned with the collective nature of memory, suggesting that 'whatever epoch is examined, attention is not directed toward the first events, or perhaps the origin of these events, but rather toward

[22] S. Goebel, (2007) *The Great War and Medieval Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 17.
[23] P. Nora, (2002) 'The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory,' *Transit* 22, 27, quoted in K. Van De Mieroop, (2016) 'The "age of commemoration" as a narrative construct: a critique of the discourse on the contemporary crisis of memory in France,' *Rethinking History* 20:2, 175.
[24] Van De Mieroop, ''Age of commemoration' as a narrative construct,' 175.
[25] P. Nora, (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,' *Representations* 26, 8.
[26] M. Halbwachs, (1992 [1941]) *On Collective Memory*, ed. trans. L.A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).

the group of believers.'[27] In other words, culturally, the site of Bannockburn does not mean the same as the idea of Bannockburn – the cultural memory of the event has a place in societal remembrance of the Wars of Independence that exceeds the importance of the physical space.[28] Geoffrey Cubitt, writing in 2007, suggested the previous twenty-five years could be described as 'history's turn to memory.'[29] In addition to the growth in the historiography of memory studies, this turn can also be seen in the rise of the journal *History and Memory*, and the many conferences and edited volumes focused on this topic.

Commemoration is often discussed in terms of how a group of people prioritise a historical narrative that they view as crucial to their story. The development of this shared sense of the past amongst a societal group can be termed either 'collective memory' (favoured by Morton and Coleman), or 'cultural memory' (used by Rigney and Goebel).[30] Rigney has said she favours cultural memory 'because it avoids the suggestion that there is some unified collective entity or superindividual which does the remembering.'[31] Cubitt, on the other hand, describes the process as collective because there is shared agreement on which ideas 'belong' to a view of the past.[32] Paul Connerton has offered a different term altogether in 'social memory', which he uses when asking how 'the memory of groups is conveyed and sustained.'[33] He is particularly interested in how the identity of a community is formed through ritualistic, commemorative ceremonies, a concept which is also at the root of this thesis. Of equal importance to the study of collective remembering, however, is that of collective forgetting.[34] Rigney has dubbed this 'cultural amnesia.'[35] This idea of cultural amnesia is particularly relevant to a nation in a situation like that

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[27] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 234-235.
[28] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 14.
[29] G. Cubitt, (2007) *History and Memory* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press), 2.
[30] Morton, 'Social Memory of Jane Porter,' 312; Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 12; Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 14; Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 365.
[31] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 365.
[32] Cubitt, *History and Memory,* 200.
[33] P. Connerton, (2010) *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1.
[34] G. Morton, (2007) 'Nationalism,' in *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 445.
[35] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 368

of Scotland in this period. Certain aspects of the past must be downplayed to aid in a contemporary sense of unity, or, as is the case with the Wars of Independence, must be reframed to fit within a teleological narrative that leads directly to the Union of 1707.

Commemoration is one of the ways collective memory is shared within a group. Tim Edensor has said it is 'often communicated through the performance of different social activities in particular places and around certain artefacts.'[36] Commemorative acts are not only for identity formation but are also often driven by political and commercial factors.[37] Since it is being continually constructed, cultural memory is also constantly changing, as a result of the influences being placed upon it. Rigney has argued that collective memories are essential to the study of commemoration, as they 'have their own histories.'[38] Therefore, there is an interesting dichotomy that exists when considering cultural memory. Each person engaging with commemorations have their own experiences and memories that shape their interactions with commemorative acts and dictate the level of significance they hold for them. However, in order for cultural memory to have an impact, there has to be a certain amount of agreement about that significance across a group of people. This often takes the form of what Ian McKay has described as a 'Golden Age narrative', 'which acquired the cumulative force of truth, as one generation's invented tradition became the next generation's commonsense reality.'[39] For this reason, commemorations can often be associated with historical myths. In many ways commemoration, myth, and identity form a continuous chain, with popular myths often leading to commemorations, which helps in the formation of identity, which continues to reinforce the myths.

Therefore, the interplay of myth and memory is crucial to the study of commemoration. John Morrison has defined a myth as 'a widely accepted

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[36] T. Edensor, (1997) 'National Identity and the Politics of Memory: Remembering Bruce and Wallace in Symbolic Space,' *Environment and Planning* 15:2, 176.
[37] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 366.
[38] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 367.
[39] I. McKay, (1993) 'History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964,' *Acadiensis* 22:2, 129.

interpretative traditional story embodying fundamental beliefs…A myth is a highly selective 'memory' of the past used to stimulate collective purpose in the present.'[40] Following Hobsbawm and Ranger's influential *The Invention of Tradition*, it became popular amongst scholars to seek out myths in order to prove their inaccuracy.[41] Though it is important to recognise myths as historically inaccurate, this thesis will not partake in this practice of 'myth-busting.' When looking at commemorations, what people believe happened in the past is often more pertinent than what actually occurred. Whatever transpired in the Middle Ages, the fact that people believe certain stories about Wallace and Bruce makes those stories real for purposes of commemoration. Though something may not be technically 'accurate' in a historic sense, if it feels authentic then it can swiftly become part of the historic landscape. For example, the oft-told story of Bruce being inspired by the tenacity of a spider in a cave is likely apocryphal, but it has become an important part of Bruce's story because it fits well within his wider narrative and has even been the inspiration for some acts of commemoration.[42] Richard Finlay also expressed this view in 1997, suggesting that 'one of the failings of the Scottish historical profession has been the failure to engage with historical myths.'[43] Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson have also argued that historians should not discount the role of myths, saying 'persistent blindness to myth undeniably robs us of much of our power to understand and interpret the past.'[44] To study how people interact with the past, one has to embrace the role of myth. In many ways, the people and events from the Wars of Independence are both historical and mythical, as these

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[40] J. Morrison, (2003) *Painting the Nation: Identity and nationalism in Scottish painting, 1800-1920* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 8-9.
[41] E.J. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger, ed. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); R. Samuel and P. Thompson, (1990) 'Introduction,' in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. R. Samuel and P. Thompson (London: Routledge), 4.
[42] This story was popularised by Walter Scott in *Tales of a Grandfather*, though it first appeared in Hume of Godcroft's sixteenth century chronicle on the Douglas Family; Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 14.
[43] R.J. Finlay, (1997) 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland,' *Scottish Affairs* 18:1, 123.
[44] Samuel and Thompson, 'Introduction,' 4-5.

historical characters have taken on mythical status in later centuries.[45] What is particularly interesting to historians, and what will be considered throughout this thesis, is why some of these myths survive while others do not. What value do certain myths hold in the collective memory that others do not?

Popular myths lead to acts of commemoration, which in turn are one of the ways in which collective memory is continuously formed, a process that will be evident throughout this thesis. 'Commemoration' refers to the process of memorialising the past, while 'commemorations' and 'commemorative acts' refer to the actual actions of remembering. Many scholars define commemorations by type. Coleman has suggested there are two types of commemorations: passive and active. The former 'is carried out through examples of "banal nationalism",' a term used by Michael Billig, then Colin Kidd.[46] Coleman says passive commemorations are those that burn quickly, like a lighted match, whereas active commemorations have a slow burn. He suggests monuments are an example of passive commemorations, whereas anniversaries could be classified as active. The problem with this definition is that at the time of the initial act of commemoration, all examples are 'active.' Though some are more clearly ongoing, such as anniversaries, there are still many ways in which commemorations are continuously regenerated. For example, the National Wallace Monument, which would fall under Coleman's 'passive' category, has endless celebrations and activities focused on Wallace, which gives it a sense of ongoing and active commemoration. Similarly, the Wallace Memorial in Elderslie, though a 'passive' monument, became the site of annual Home Rule demonstrations, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

Commemorations can memorialise many different aspects of the past, but most common are those dedicated to war and conflicts, of which the commemorations in this thesis are an example. Much of the recent work on commemoration has been focused on twentieth century wars, particularly the

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[45] K. Bhandri, (2011) 'Recreating heritage in the southwest of Scotland,' *Current Issues in Tourism* 14:7, 675.
[46] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 15; M. Billig, (1995) *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage); C. Kidd, (2008) *Union and unionisms: Political thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

First and Second World Wars and the South African War. When categorising commemorations of war, many scholars distinguish between those that are for mourning and those that have a political agenda. For example, in Gilbert Bell's PhD thesis he refers to 'The New Order – Memorials to the Fallen' (mourning) and 'The Old Order – Memorials to War' (political).[47] This distinction is based on Bell's work on First World War monuments, and the change to more personalised monuments that named the fallen, a trend which began after the South African War when the bodies of soldiers were not repatriated.[48] Another example of this is Elaine McFarland's 'grief school' focus on mourning, versus the 'functionalist' idea that war memorials are political.[49] Goebel also made a similar distinction, looking at how the Middle Ages were used in First World War rhetoric.[50] He separates commemorations into 'personal' (mourning) versus 'political' commemorations. The concern with these categories is the impetus for commemoration is, of course, rarely so well-defined. Goebel suggests all monuments have an inherent danger of being politicised.[51] Judith Butler, in her discussion of contemporary conflicts, also mentions the politicised nature of 'framing' war.[52] She argues that 'the frames through which we apprehend or, indeed, fail to apprehend the lives of others as lost or injured…are politically saturated.'[53]

All commemorations of the Wars of Independence fall under the category of political memorials. Since the events of the Wars occurred hundreds of years before the acts of commemoration were created, the need for grieving is removed. Emma Login has suggested the following categories of grief felt by different generations, and how these impact commemorations,

> Memorialization presents new problems to each generation, first for those who have experienced the traumatic event, secondly for those for whom this event is still "present" through stories of

[47] G.T. Bell, (1993) 'Monuments to the Fallen,' PhD thesis (University of Strathclyde), 46, 62.
[48] McFarland, 'Commemoration of the South African War'; A. Gaffney, (1996) ''Poppies on the up-platform': Commemoration of the Great War in Wales,' PhD thesis (University of Wales, Cardiff).
[49] McFarland, 'Commemoration of the South African War,' 195-6.
[50] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*.
[51] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 5.
[52] J. Butler, (2010) *Frames of War* (London: Verso), 1.
[53] Butler, *Frames of War*, 1.

> their parents and grandparents, and finally for those who have no connection to the event or those who have died, yet still feel the need to carry out memorialisation.[54]

Though today there are fewer and fewer people who experienced the First and Second World Wars first-hand, they are still 'present' for many people, particularly given the abundance of centenary celebrations. The events of the Wars of Independence, however, are firmly in the final one of Login's categories. This makes the study of the Wars of Independence rare in the current field of commemorative studies, which is largely focused on twentieth-century conflicts. This question of how monuments to the Wars of Independence function as war memorials will be explored at greater length in Chapter Three.

The study focused on these contemporary conflicts that is perhaps most relevant to this study is Stefan Goebel's work, which explores how the medieval past was used following the First World War in both Britain and Germany, as 'older lines of continuity were reasserted in an effort to turn history into a coherent narrative, that overshadowed the rupture of 1914-1918.'[55] This thesis acts as an interesting comparison to Goebel's as the conflicts occurred hundreds of years apart, but time period in question and the use of medieval figures are similar. Comparing this study with Goebel's shows the continuity of commemorative types in this period, which will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Though all of this recent scholarship has been considering the commemoration of war, there are a number of ways in which the recency of these conflicts causes the commemoration to differ from those dedicated to medieval conflicts. One way is the aforementioned issue of grief, where a death that occurred hundreds of years ago is treated differently from one from very recently. Another difference with recent wars is that the question of how the

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[54] E. Login, (2011) 'The Heritage of Memorials and Commemorations – Twelfth Cambridge Heritage Seminar,' *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6:3, 226.
[55] S. Goebel, (2017) ''Spirit of the Crusaders': Scottish Peculiarities, British Commonalities, and European Convergences in the Memorialization of the Great War,' in *Scotland and the First World War myth, memory, and the legacy of Bannockburn*, ed. G. Plain (Lewisburgh: Bucknell University Press), 127; Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*.

events would be memorialised was already occurring during the conflicts themselves, as McFarland discusses in relation to the South African War.[56] This can also be seen during the First World War, when people in South Africa observed a daily two minutes of silence from 1916.[57] This would lead to King George V adopting the practice as part of the first Armistice Day ceremony in 1919.[58]

Another common feature of the commemoration of war is the celebration of its heroes. In 1840, Thomas Carlyle published a series of lectures called *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, in which he said, 'hero-worship exists forever, and everywhere.'[59] There are two main portrayals of heroes in the commemoration of war. The first is as a means of illustrating the ideal citizen of a nation. As Stephanie Barczewski has illustrated, King Arthur and Robin Hood were used in the nineteenth century 'to identify and promote certain elements considered essential to British national identity.'[60] Medieval heroes in Britain in the nineteenth century were largely national, with Owain Glyn Dwr acting as a rallying point for Welsh nationalism and Wallace and Bruce fulfilling a similar role in Scotland.[61] Barczewski has also shown how different heroes were used to appeal to different levels of society. Using the examples of Arthur and Robin Hood, she has shown how Arthur appealed to the upper classes, while Robin Hood was a 'hero amongst the poorest sort.'[62] Wallace and Bruce held similar roles in Scotland, with Bruce appealing to the upper classes while Wallace was portrayed as a 'lad o'pairts,' or a man of the people.[63] The second popular portrayal of heroes are what Hobsbawm dubbed 'social bandits,' or someone

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[56] McFarland, 'Commemoration of the South African War', 195.
[57] M. Connelly, (2002) *The Great War, Memory and Ritual* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press), 132.
[58] Connelly, *Great War, Memory and Ritual*, 132.
[59] T. Carlyle, (1846) *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History: six lectures* (New York: Wiley and Putnam), 363.
[60] S. Barczewski, (2000) *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2.
[61] R.R. Davies, (1995) *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); R.R. Davies, (2000) 'Shakespeare's Glendower and Owain Glyn Dwr,' *Historian* 66.
[62] Barczewski, *Myth and National Identity*, 232.
[63] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 16.

'who takes to outlawry through some brush with the State or the ruling class.'[64] This theory has been refined since its original publication, including by Hobsbawm himself, but the category is still useful.[65] Again, Bruce and Wallace can fit this type of hero. Both men committed crimes on their way to power, but their later successes and good deeds are shown as justifying these earlier indiscretions. Examples of the hero-worshipping of Wallace and Bruce will be evident throughout this thesis, as they are by far the most commemorated figures from the Wars of Independence.

Increasingly, studies of commemoration are also focused on the role of place.[66] This generally takes two forms, with the first being places that become commemorative In *Landscape and Memory*, Simon Shama suggests that 'landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto the wood and water and rock.'[67] Brian Osborne looks at the 'geography of identity' or the way the sites can serve as mnemonic devices.[68] In particular, he is interested in the human attachment to particular spaces, whether or not those spaces are historically 'accurate'. This will be explored further in the discussion of landmark objects in Chapter Three. The other focus on place in the historiography has focused on the spaces where commemorations occur. In the introduction to the volume *Memory, Place and Identity*, Danielle Drozdzewski, Sarah De Nardi and Emma Waterton suggest that the propensity to place a war memorial in a city square, for example, 'asserts a ruling elite's interpretations of the past and its notions of identity in the present.'[69] Similarly, Connerton has argued that elites have invented rituals for their own purposes, in order to 'claim continuity with an appropriate

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[64] E.J. Hobsbawm, (1959) *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press), 4.
[65] G. Seal, (2008) 'The Robin Hood Principle: Folklore, History, and the Social Bandit,' *Journal of Folklore History* 46:1, 67.
[66] See also: P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell, (2004) *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge).
[67] S. Shama, (1995) *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).
[68] B.S. Osborne, (2001) 'Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place,' *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33:3, 40.
[69] D. Drozdzewski, S. De Nardi and E. Waterton, (2016) 'The significance of memory in the present,' in *Memory, Place and Identity: Commemoration and remembrance of war and conflict*, ed. D. Drozdzewski, S. De Nardi and E. Waterton (London: Routledge), 3.

past.'[70] The importance of this is indicated in the chapter names in this thesis, which are named for the movability of the commemorative types. Guy Beiner's *Remembering the Year of the French* examines the relationship of folklore, memory and history to understand how specific communities in Ireland commemorated the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798.[71] Crucially, Bernier considers how rural communities commemorated this event, which are distinct, though not entirely independent of national historiography and commemoration.'[72] This relates to one of the central themes of this thesis in terms of considering how towns used commemorative spaces to perform their new power in the nineteenth century.

In general, commemorations are important to study as they help to reinforce a common past upon which to base present collectiveness, and therefore are a critical part of identity formation. The agreement of a set of historical stories and traditions that should be remembered/preserved by a community is the basis for a collective identity. Identity is essentially a self-fulfilling prophecy, since what you choose to remember determines how you identify, which thus influences what you choose to remember. Of course, identity is constantly in motion, which explains the ebb and flow in trends of commemoration that will be seen in this study. People also do not just have one identity, but rather they are situational.[73] Commemorations are a way to show and reaffirm identity, as the 'use of flags, monuments and ceremonies is not a superfluous extravagance, but a central component of identity creation and maintenance.'[74] Though commemorations can be seen as merely decorative, or even passive, they are essential to the formation and performance of identities, and worthy of further study.

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[70] Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 51.
[71] G. Beiner, (2007) *Remembering the Year of the French* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press), 4-6.
[72] Beiner, *Remembering the Year*, 5.
[73] J. Hearn, (2000) *Claiming Scotland: National identity and liberal culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon), 11.
[74] G. Schöpflin, (2000) *Nations, Identity, Power: The New Politics of Europe* (London: C. Hurst & Co.), 29.

How the past is remembered and memorialised forms the foundation of this study. This thesis will add to the ongoing discussion of the role of myth and memory in commemoration by examining the extent to which historical myth is permissible when commemorating medieval conflicts, as well as considering how medieval heroes were utilised in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Scotland. Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrrell have suggested there is a typically Scottish view of commemoration, 'where important monuments were created in the nineteenth century as expressions of national identity, time-hallowed episodes in the national memory continue to be cherished.'[75] This is the perspective that a lot of work on Scottish commemoration, and commemoration more generally is based – on examining the national identity. However, this thesis seeks to puts the local perspective back into the prevailing national question, as discussed further in the methodology section below. Therefore, this thesis offers a new perspective on the performance of local identity in Scotland in the nineteenth century, as a caveat to the general focus on commemorations displaying national impact. It also offers a relatively unique perspective on war commemoration, as another perspective from the numerous studies on commemorations of twentieth century wars. Though the forms of commemorations can be similar, they are often thought of in a different manner when the victims of war died at least five hundred years previously.

Nationalism and Nationhood

In 1994, T.C. Smout argued 'national identities are constructed out of references to history or, more exactly, to received popular ideas about history that achieve mythic status irrespective of what modern academic historians perceive to be their actual truth or importance.'[76] Commemorations are an

[75] P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell, (2004) 'The Public Memory of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation,' in *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell (Aldershot: Ashgate), 15-16.
[76] T.C. Smout, (1994) 'Perspectives on the Scottish Identity,' *Scottish Affairs* 6:1, 108.

essential part of reinforcing these 'popular ideas,' thus maintaining national identities. For this reason, commemorations are often studied under the umbrella of nationalism and national identities. For example, Ash's theory about the 'strange death of Scottish history' comes from her examination of why Scottish nationalism did not manifest itself in uprisings and revolution, as national movements did in much of Europe. I have already expressed scepticism about Ash's claim, but to unpack this point further, Ash contends that following the success of Sir Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century, historians of Scotland experienced 'a historical failure of nerve.'[77] This is a clear reference to George Elder Davie's suggestion in *The Democratic Intellect*, of a 'failure of intellectual nerve.'[78] In his use of this phrase, Davie is arguing that there was a decline the 'democratic intellectualism which had distinguished Scottish civilisation.'[79] Ash's chief concern was that a similar disappearance of interest in Scottish history occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which indicated to her that Scotland was lacking a distinctive identity during this time.[80]

Many Scottish historians agree with Ash's starting point that it is noteworthy that Scotland did not develop the same type of political nationalism that was emerging in much of Europe.[81] Richard Finlay cited Ash to reiterate his argument that 'Scottish history ceased to be important because it had no political raison d'etre; it could not be reworked into a mid-nineteenth century European nationalism nor did it have any usefulness or relevance to progress.'[82] However, several scholars have expressed concern about her ultimate

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[77] Ash, *Strange Death,* 10-11.
[78] G.E. Davie, (1961) *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 337.
[79] Davie, *The Democratic Intellect,* 336–7.
[80] D. McCrone, (2002) 'Tomorrow's Ancestors: Nationalism, Identity and History,' in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 259.
[81] G. Morton, (1998) 'What If?: The Significance of Scotland's Missing Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century,' in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages,* ed. D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald); R.A. Marsden, (2014) *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c. 1825-1875* (Farnham: Ashgate); C. Kidd, (1997) '*The Strange Death of Scottish History* revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c.1790–1914,' *SHR* 76; McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors.'
[82] Finlay, 'Controlling the Past,' 127.

conclusions. Marsden is hesitant to say whether such a decline actually occurred.[83] In a recent chapter, Ewen Cameron suggests Ash's 'thesis can be questioned in a variety of ways,' though he is looking specifically at the bi-centenary of the Union.[84] Kidd, though largely agreeing with Ash, has questioned whether Scottish history was ever as popular as we think it was in the early nineteenth century.[85] If it was not as widespread as we believe, then the decline would also not have been as significant. This thesis will add further nuance to Ash's claim, which is rather too focused on one aspect of society – the antiquarian elite. Though interest in the past did not lead to a significant change in the political system in Scotland, as it did in much of the rest of Europe, that does not imply that it died entirely.[86] Instead, as this thesis will show, it left the club culture of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which is largely the focus of Ash's book, and instead was expressed through a variety of public commemorative acts. The people responsible for carrying out these acts were still often elite antiquarians, but they functioned differently in society after the demise of the club culture.

The following section will form an overview of studies about how the past was used to reinforce Scottish national identity between 1800 and 1939. Ultimately, much of the interest in the medieval past in nineteenth and twentieth century Scotland was centred on nationhood because, as John Gillis has argued, 'new nations as well as old states require ancient pasts.'[87] In the nineteenth century, there was growing interest in the historical past in Scotland, as people were reconciling the idea that Scotland was both a new nation and an old state, and what its wider role within the UK and the Empire should be.[88]

When considering nationalism as a theory, many historians begin with Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities, which mostly drew on

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[83] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 319.
[84] E.A. Cameron, (2018) ''Offensive to national sentiment?' the bicentenary of the Union of 1707,' in *The Age of Anniversaries: The Cult of Commemoration, 1895-1925*, ed. T.G. Otte (London: Routledge).
[85] Kidd, '*Strange Death* Revisited,' 87.
[86] Ash, *Strange Death*, 10.
[87] J.R. Gillis, (1994) 'Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,' in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* ed. J.R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 9.
[88] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* 298.

his work in Asia.[89] Though he was focused on nationalism following the Second World War, his definitions have wider relevancy. Anderson begins with the difficulty in finding a definition of a nation, since it is a broad concept that is forever shifting.[90] He argued that an anthropological approach should be taken when studying nations, suggesting understanding the idea of a nation is 'easier if one treated it as if it belonged with "kinship" and "religion," rather than with "liberalism" or "fascism."'[91] His concept of 'imagined communities' developed from this idea. Anderson contends that all communities, including nations, are imagined, since they rely on a sense of agreed collectiveness.[92] Anthony Smith has made a similar argument in his study of the effect of myths and symbols in nation-building.[93] He said that while 'national sentiment' is often conflated with 'nationalism,' the former is focused on 'feelings of collective belonging' while the latter is an ideology or a movement.[94] This relates back to the notion of collective memory, and how having a sense of a shared history is a prerequisite for nationhood. Ernest Gellner has also discussed national sentiment, suggesting it is the 'feeling of anger' that is often the impetus for nationalist movements.[95] This may help to explain why Scotland did not turn to revolution in the nineteenth century, as there was not as strong of a feeling of anger towards the status quo.

The importance that Anderson, Smith, and Gellner give national sentiment illustrates how history is used to help form ideas of nationhood, in that the stories and symbols that form sentiment are all rooted in a collective past, either real or imagined. Commemorations reinforce and memorialise this collective past. In his essay 'What is a Nation?' Ernest Renan argued history is essential in the construction of nationalism. David McCrone has equated Renan's argument to Anderson's, saying Renan was describing 'a community of

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[89] B.R.O. Anderson, (1994) *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso).
[90] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 3; H. Seton-Watson, (1977) *Nations and States: An enquiry into the origins and politics of nationalism* (London: Methuen), 5.
[91] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5-6.
[92] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
[93] A.D. Smith, (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
[94] Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 29, 101.
[95] E. Gellner, (1983) *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), 1.

imagination (not, of course, imaginary).'[96] McCrone is emphasising the point that while all communities/nations are 'imagined' they are still authentic to the people who are part of them. Coleman also uses Renan to reiterate his point that nationality is the result of the relationship between the past and the present.[97] In the introduction to his book *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, after considering the opinions of many of these theorists, Tim Edensor stresses that this use of history can be manifested in many different ways: performance, material culture, exhibitions, and everyday life.[98] He argues that national identity is formed in this interplay between the 'shared points of commonality in popular culture and in its grounding in everyday life.'[99] This reinforces why this thesis prioritises public commemorations, to help reveal what types of commemorations were favoured in popular culture.

There have been a number of studies dedicated to the variety of ways the past has been used to form national identity. McCrone has discussed the importance of national stories and the process of 'constructing a narrative involving a golden age, a period in history when the nation was "itself," and thence could be found again.'[100] This describes how the Wars of Independence were often framed during this period, as a time when the Scottish kingdom was 'itself' and was illustrating that by asserting its autonomy. Historically this narrative is rather flawed, as the extent to which Scotland was seen as a separate group during the Wars of Independence is an ongoing consideration for medieval scholars.[101] However, because of how the Wars of Independence are presented as a necessary point on the path to the eventual Union, nuances such as these are not prioritised in many popular accounts. Marsden has pointed to specific ways 'romantic nationalism' perpetuated national narratives, including 'an origin myth, historical heroes, ongoing antagonists, the

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[96] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 270.
[97] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 8.
[98] T. Edensor, (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (London: Bloomsbury).
[99] Edensor, *National Identity,* 23.
[100] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 266.
[101] F. Watson, (1998) 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence,' in *Image and Identity: The making and remaking of Scotland through the ages*, ed. D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald), 31.

assumption of historical progress, nostalgia for a lost golden age, and the promise of an imminent revival.'[102] All of these are evident in the narratives surrounding the Wars of Independence: the re-establishment of the Scottish crown by Bruce acts as a type of origin myth, Wallace and Bruce are portrayed as heroes, whereas Edward I is a worthy antagonist, historical progress is shown in terms of legitimising the kingship and the rhetoric in the Declaration of Arbroath, there was a sense of nostalgia for this time when Scotland was asserting its power, and there was scope for an imminent revival when Scotland would take on more power within the Union.

It is important to not only consider what aspects of the past were used to form identity, but also who decided what was memorialised. John Mackenzie has argued the elite invented traditions for the public through commemorative acts.[103] As this thesis will show, it was almost exclusively elites who were responsible for commemorations of the Wars of Independence during this time, so what they decided to commemorate did dictate what was remembered. Tom Normand has argued similarly, suggesting 'the "intelligentsia" devoted themselves to a nationalist agitation.'[104] The antiquaries, or 'intelligentsia,' were indeed amongst the first to look to the Wars of Independence, though it was certainly not for nationalist agitation. Instead, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, the intent was to represent Scotland as a more powerful participant within the Union.

An inherent question when considering Scottish nationalism is whether Scotland was actually a nation in the nineteenth century. This is a question much larger than this thesis, and it greatly depends on what aspect of society one is considering. Since this thesis is based in cultural history however, the answer would have to be yes. Scotland during the period of this study was certainly an imagined community, and much of its identity lay in the various ways it was different from England. Commemorations were one of the ways this

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[102] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* 17.
[103] J.M. Mackenzie, (1986) 'Introduction,' in *Imperialism and Popular Culture,* ed. J.M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 3.
[104] T. Normand, (2000) *The Modern Scot: Modernism and nationalism in Scottish art, 1928-1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 1.

difference was illustrated since England did not memorialise events such as the Battle of Bannockburn. Of course, one cannot study this period and separate Scotland's relationship from its southern neighbour. Coleman says Scottish commemoration is 'notable for how often it avoids the possibility of causing offence, never more so than when considering the effect upon Scotland's partner in Union: England.'[105] Perhaps this is why hero-worshipping became a central focus of the commemorations, because it allowed the attention to be on celebrating Wallace and Bruce, rather than framing England as the antagonist. An extended consideration of the growth of Scottish nationalism in this period is included in the following chapter.

Overall, this thesis will argue against Ash's 'strange death' theory by showing the changes over time in how the Scottish historical past was memorialised. It will also display a number of ways in which commemorations were used to form and perform a Scottish identity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, leading to an increased sense of Scottishness. This thesis will also consider who was responsible for these commemorations, and thus who influenced a collective Scottish identity.

Medievalism

In 1996, the 'grandfather' of medievalism, Leslie Workman, defined the term as 'the continuing process of creating the Middle Ages.'[106] By this definition, this thesis is an example of a medievalism study, as it is concerned with how an event from the Middle Ages is portrayed and used in a later period. A concern of medievalism, however, is the difficulty in defining its characteristics and parameters. Nils Peterson has summed up the ongoing debate by asking 'should this term be used for everything that derives from the Middle Ages, or should it be reserved for post-medieval interest in the revival of

[105] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 51.
[106] L.J. Workman, (1996) 'Preface,' in *Studies in Medievalism VIII: Medievalism in Europe II*, ed. L.J. Workman and K. Verduin (London: Boydell & Brewer), 1.

phenomena belong to the period or notion of the Middle Ages?'[107] Most scholars of medievalism believe the focus should be on the latter, and that the value of medievalism is what it says about a contemporary society. Perhaps a better term for ongoing interest in the Middle Ages is Michael Alexander's 'medieval revival' – 'the rediscovery, courtship, and embrace of the medieval.'[108] Medievalism, then, would then refer solely to the study of these revivals, their significance, and what can be revealed about a society by studying what it chooses to memorialise about the past.

Medievalism has a lot of potential for bringing together various fields of study under a wider umbrella, in order for scholars to better understand the use of the medieval past in the present. Scholars continue to develop workable frameworks that promote more commonality. The main barrier to the growth of medievalism, however, is the sheer scale of the topic. We look to the middle ages more than any other period in history and have done so for hundreds of years. As Umberto Eco has said, 'it seems that people like the Middle Ages.'[109]

The intention at the beginning of this thesis was that medievalism would greatly inform the methodological approach, as well as provide a theoretical underpinning as to the importance in studying commemorations of the medieval past. However, the intersection of commemoration and medievalism is still in its relative infancy, and there is a lack of a consistent framework. More widely, there have been several attempts to create workable frameworks for approaching the study of medievalism as a whole. Of most use to this study is Tom Shippey's suggestion that different types of medievalism should be considered together, as they interact with each other to help form a sense of the past, or even a collective identity. Therefore, Shippey suggests a 'collective anthology, with single theme but varied perspectives.' By this he is referring to the study of a range of commemorations within a theme, whether this is

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[107] N.H. Peterson, (2009) 'Medievalism and Medieval Reception: A Terminological Question,' in *Studies in Medievalism XVII: Defining Medievalism(s)*, ed. K. Fugelso (London: Boydell & Brewer), 36.
[108] M. Alexander, (2007) *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
[109] U. Eco, (1984) *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays* (San Diego: Harcourt), 61.

accomplished my one scholar considering a variety of commemorations or a number of scholars offering different perspectives on a theme. This is the starting point for the methodology of this thesis.

1.2: Methodology

The study of commemorations, particularly of conflicts beyond the First and Second World War, is still in its relative infancy. The methodology of this thesis was formed by taking aspects of existing studies of commemoration and combining them with relevant facets of medievalism to provide a framework for studying commemorations of the medieval past. The study of commemorations dedicated to events from the middle ages differs from more contemporary commemorations in that there is not the same emotional element as memorials to a recent war. Since the events being commemorated occurred hundreds or even thousands of years ago, the motivation is instead on the performance of identity and the promotion of the historical past. In addition, as Shippey argued, these commemorations should not be considered in isolation, as 'they are all capable at any point of interacting, and have always done so.'[110] This thesis, then, follows Shippey's suggestion that the most appropriate way to study such subjects is through 'the collective anthology' on a single theme, by undertaking a comprehensive study of the different types of commemorations dedicated to people and events from the Wars of Independence.[111] In doing so, this thesis illustrates how looking at a variety of commemorative types across time can show important changes in their role in society.

This thesis makes use of both qualitative and quantitative data, in order to gain a wide perspective alongside individual case studies. Where possible, groups of commemorations are considered quantitatively in order to survey the larger field. At the same time, individual case studies are provided for each type of commemoration to qualitatively illustrate how and why these acts were

[110] T. Shippey, (2009) 'Medievalisms and Why They Matter,' in *Studies in Medievalism XVII: Defining Medievalism(s)*, ed. K. Fugelso (London: Boydell & Brewer), 48.
[111] Shippey, 'Medievalisms and why they matter,' 48.

undertaken. In the consideration of each case study, there are four areas of inquiry. The first asks who is responsible for the commemoration – who created it and who paid for it. This reveals the initial motivation for memorialisation. The second builds on this, asking what the purpose of the commemoration was. It could be informative, decorative, or to showcase something about the creator. The third harks back to the central question of this thesis – to what extent has the public become involved in each example of commemoration? This includes where the commemoration is located and how it was accessed by the public. Finally, the impact of the commemoration is considered. Did it inspire further commemorative acts? Did it help alter the reputation of a person or event? What was the initial and long-term reaction to it? Overall, this approach allows for the consideration of the incentive for commemoration, how it is manifested, and what the lasting impact has been.

When determining which types of commemorations to include in this thesis, the chief requirement was that they were publicly accessible. The term 'public' could refer to an entire population, elite members of a community, or a small group of like-minded individuals, and all of these categories are included in the different types of commemorations. Commemorations in this period were often expressly created for the public, but in reality, members of the community did not always have any input, nor were their views reflected. There is a risk in speaking about the public as a homogenous but anonymous entity with uniform views and reactions. To combat this, and as the above framework suggests, for each case study consideration is given to who was funding and creating each commemoration, in addition to where it was located and why it was created. This will reveal how much access members of the public may have had, and what role they have played in the creation of each act of commemoration.

In addition to being publicly accessible, there were a number of other requirements for the different categories of commemorations included in this thesis. First, there needed to be several examples of that type of commemoration, so that they could be compared to one another, as well as the wider group of commemorative acts. Second, where applicable, the act of commemoration had to be marketed to adults. An examination of the

educational materials associated with the Wars of Independence, and how children interacted with these commemorative acts, would be a fruitful future study, however.

Alongside the acts of commemoration themselves, the second group of sources that is essential to this thesis are the primary sources that provide additional information about the commemorations. This primarily takes the form of newspapers, as they show what information may have been available to the public about each of the commemorative types. Certain commemorations, such as monuments and anniversaries, are much more popular in newspapers than others. However, newspapers must also be approached with caution, as the tendency was to present events in the most exciting light, in order to sell copies. Therefore, the evidence contained within newspapers will be used in this thesis, though corroborated with other primary sources wherever possible. Other useful primary documents include a variety of contemporary written materials. These are used for a variety of purposes, such as explaining how a commemoration was funded and built or illustrating the climate in which it was created. These include books, pamphlets, letters, and magazines.

Another important element of the methodology of this study is the time period it encompasses. The period from 1800 to 1939 was chosen for a variety of reasons. First, the nineteenth century can be viewed as the period when Scottish history became seen as a unique and valuable topic of study, which will be discussed further in the following chapter in the outline of the professionalisation of Scottish history. Credit for the upturn in interest in the Scottish historical past is often awarded to Sir Walter Scott and, as will become clear, he had a hand in nearly every aspect of the antiquarian movement in Scotland, which in turn is largely held responsible for this interest. [112] Therefore, the year 1800 was chosen as the starting point for this thesis as it is a convenient point that very approximately represents the beginnings of this historical interest, within the Romantic and antiquarian periods. On the other end of the time scale is the beginning of the Second World War. Amongst the

[112] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 9.

proponents of medievalism it is largely agreed that the Second World War marks a temporary departure from the trend of using the medieval past to rationalise events in the present.[113] Following the First World War there was a lot of effort to understand the conflict as part of a series of large scale conflicts that occurred through history, including in the Middle Ages.[114] The Second World War disrupted this theory, as it occurred so soon after the First World War, and interest in the medieval past generally decreased for several decades. It may also have been that the medieval history of Scotland seemed less relevant in light of the recent near-global conflict. As a result, interest in the Wars of Independence declined in this period, which makes it a logical endpoint for this study. It was also important to include the popularity for monument building that occurred following the First World War in this thesis, in order to consider how the commemorations of these two conflicts influenced each other. Though the focus of this was largely in the decade following the First World War, this thesis ends in 1939 because that marks the sharp drop in the number of commemorations dedicated to the Wars. For example, looking at monuments, only three were from 1930 until 1996, and the theatrical release of *Braveheart*.[115] As this thesis was also influenced by medievalism, as mentioned above this date also marks a traditional transition time in terms of interest in the medieval past. Finally, the mid-twentieth century also saw the rise of Scottish nationalism, so the Wars of Independence were no longer seen in Whiggish terms as a point on the inevitable path to the Union, but rather was taken up by the cause for Scottish independence. This shift would be a useful future course of study.

In total, this thesis spans 139 years. This time scale is appropriate as the aim of this thesis is to consider a representative sample of commemorations across a time period in order to consider trends. Taking a shorter period would have missed crucial aspects of commemoration, such as the early antiquaries in the early nineteenth century or the role of memorials dedicated to the Wars of

[113] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 13.
[114] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 14.
[115] See Appendix One.

Independence following the First World War. The goal of this study is to consider the commemorative acts that took place during this period of high interest in the Wars of Independence, prior to a period of relative obscurity until the end of the twentieth century. The length of the time period is countered by the use of individual case studies within each type of commemoration, to show how these acts effected individual people and communities. Wherever possible, a variety of case studies are used that span the length of the time period, as well as different geographic regions of Scotland. The intersection of these micro and macro approaches allows for the most authentic picture of the commemorative practices occurring in Scotland during this period.

Overall, this thesis combines a number of different elements in order to present a new way for the commemorations of medieval conflicts to be studied. I examine a wide range of acts of commemoration from both a qualitative and quantitative angle and across a relatively long time period in order to understand how and why commemorations of the Wars were being created and considered. This allows me to consider trends in commemoration in the big picture, and also focus on interesting outliers. It also revealed two of the major themes of this thesis, the importance of locality and the role of the public, which will be discussed at greater length now.

1.3: Themes and Structure

This thesis has six chapters in total. The first two, including this introductory chapter, serve to position the thesis within the relevant scholarly and historical backgrounds. The next three chapters form the main body of the thesis which, as previously indicated, are structured around how the public interacts with different types of commemorations. Chapter Three is concerned with moveable commemorations, particularly architectural ornamentation and monuments. Chapter Four is focused on the ceremonial nature of commemoration, chiefly anniversaries and openings of monuments. Chapter Five looks at movable commemorations, including texts, art, and relics, which

could all be passed between people and moved to different locations. The sixth chapter serves as the conclusion for this thesis and includes a comparison of the commemorations of Wallace and Bruce, as well as some concluding thoughts about each of the themes. Throughout the thesis visual depictions of the acts of commemoration are included to give visual references to the arguments being made. Where appropriate maps are used to plot the location of commemorations, which reinforces one of the central themes of this study, the role of locality in commemoration. In addition, though this is not a comparative study, where appropriate each section will include similar examples of that type of commemoration that were built in the period that are dedicated to other people or events in Scottish history. This allows the commemorative acts dedicated to the Wars of Independence to be placed within the wider commemorative context, which will be introduced in the following chapter. The discussion of each type of commemorative act will generally follow a similar structure: an introduction to the history of that commemoration in Scotland and a discussion of the relevant historiography, the individual case studies and other analysis of that type of commemoration, an indication of how that commemoration fits into the wider commemorative context, and a conclusion summing up how this commemorative type fits into the wider picture of the commemoration of the Wars of Independence.

There are two central themes to this thesis. The first is the importance of locality in commemoration. This is relatively rare thus far in studies on commemorations of the Wars of Independence. The sense of nationhood that was developing in this period is so overarching that the tendency is to view commemorations from this viewpoint as well. One exception to this is Michael Penman, who suggests that for most of the nineteenth century, commemoration of the medieval past 'remained the preserve of private citizens, local or regional civic associations and competing interest groups.'[116] Locality, however, has not been the central concern of any of the previous studies on the Wars of Independence.

[116] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 43.

There are several different ways the role of locality is manifested in commemorations in this thesis. The first two focus on an individual's incentive for commemoration. Ancestral locality refers to how ancestral ties influenced commemorative actions in this period, such as a case study in Chapter Two where a monument is built to commemorate the funder's ancestor. Personal locality examines how an individual's connection to a place can be the impetus for commemoration, rather than an explicit historical connection. The other two types of locality are collective. Historic locality is focused on events in the past that occurred in that place, such as the commemorative acts at the site of the Battle of Bannockburn. The final type of locality is municipal locality, which refers to how towns in Scotland used commemoration to perform identity. Edensor has shown that most monuments in Europe in the nineteenth century were located 'at different locations around which public life was organised.'[117] The roles of these four types of locality will be explored throughout this thesis.

The second theme of this thesis is to what extent these commemorative acts were public. In what ways did the public have access to them? How were they involved in the process, from the idea to creation to the reception? Does this differ across the various types of commemorations? To what extent was public approval of these acts of commemoration important? Unfortunately, there are very few cases of individual voices from members of the general public sharing their views on these commemorative acts. Instead, their role and influence must be deduced from information given by the press and by members of the elite. As will become clear, public access and influence differed for each type of commemoration.

1.4: Conclusion

The central question of this thesis asks why and how people publicly commemorated the Wars of Independence from 1800 to 1939. The focus is on both the impetuses behind commemorative actions, and the form the

[117] Edensor, 'National Identity and the Politics of Memory,' 175.

commemorations themselves took. During this period of modernisation and change in Scotland a distinct Scottish identity and historical past emerged. By examining commemorations of one aspect of this past, this thesis will suggest some of the ways in which people in Scotland in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries engaged with the past, what they thought worthy of remembrance, and the role commemoration played in society.

There are a number of features that make this thesis unique within the current historiography. The first is the approach taken in regard to the scale of both the types of commemorative acts and the time period. In terms of Scottish history, this ambitious approach allows me to consider trends and changes over time, which in turn can be partially tied to the speed of change during this period in Scotland. It is also the first study to focus on all of the events of the Wars of Independence across this number of commemorations, which gives a more accurate picture of the wider view of these events. In terms of commemorative studies, this thesis suggests a classification of studying the role of locality in commemorations, to better understand the various local motivations. It also illustrates both the similarities and differences between commemorations of medieval and contemporary wars, particularly in the early twentieth century. Finally, as this thesis takes inspiration from medievalism, it intends to illustrate the critical ties between commemorative studies and medievalism, in order to inspire future research projects.

Overall, studying commemoration is valuable because it shows which aspects of the past are prioritised in the present. It also reveals which aspects of the past are *not* valued. Commemorations are often physical reminders that our attitudes change, as recent debates about Confederate monuments in America clearly illustrate. It is as pertinent for this thesis to consider what is included as it is to look at what is not. In addition, often what we remember about the past has more to do with the ongoing significance and memory than historical accuracy.

Chapter Two
Setting the Scene – Commemorative Context

This chapter acts as a bridge between the introduction and the main chapters of this thesis, in order to provide the necessary context for understanding the following case studies of commemoration. The first section provides the historical context by identifying the central political, religious and social issues that impacted commemoration of the Wars of Independence during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This sets up the second section, which considers trends in the commemoration of the Wars of Independence in this period. The details of this wider picture will be filled in using the specific examples found throughout the remainder of this thesis. The final section examines how historians thought of the Wars of Independence in this period, including outlining the crucial move towards the professionalisation of Scottish history in this period. This section will end with a consideration of the term 'Wars of Independence' as the name of this period.

2.1: The Historical Context

This section will consider the processes that most impacted commemoration of the Wars of Independence in the nineteenth century. First, the competing identities facing Scots in this period will be discussed, in order to introduce many of the impetuses for commemoration that will appear throughout this thesis. Following this, the growing power of towns and cities will be considered both in terms of the reality of urbanisation causing society to be more physically condensed, but also socially, as living in close quarters impacted the structure of society.[1]

The nineteenth century is most often characterised by Scotland's relationship within the UK following the Union of 1707. The early- to mid-nineteenth century is known as a time when the Union was widely approved of

[1] T. Griffiths and G. Morton, (2010) 'Introduction,' in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1800 to 1900*, ed. T. Griffiths and G. Morton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1.

within Scotland, though this was by no means a universal sentiment.[2] During this time of relative popularity, many Scots began to consider how Scotland could achieve an equal place within the existing political structure. The goal was not independence, but better cooperation. This notion that concurrent Scottish and British identities were both being developed during this time is encapsulated in Graeme Morton's influential term 'unionist-nationalism.'[3] Morton came to this term by considering the apparent absence of nationalism in Scotland, which was also the basis for Ash's 'strange death' theory. Morton argues that rather than being absent, nationalism instead manifested itself in Scotland through these attempts to cultivate a more powerful place within the existing Union.[4] Many people at the time thought showing Scotland had an equally important history to England was one way to accomplish this. The Wars of Independence became significant due to an attitude that said 'only because Scotland fought for and won its Independence in 1314 could it take its place ultimately as a sovereign and co-equal partner in the post-1707 British state.'[5] The term unionist-nationalism is traditionally used in a political sense, but much of this mentality of promoting Scotland within the Union played itself out culturally, so it has increasingly been used to describe the general relationship between Scotland and England through the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Historians of nineteenth-century Scotland commonly characterise the nineteenth century as a period of change in society.[6] In Morton and Robert J. Morris's chapter in *The New Penguin History of Scotland* they identity a number of key processes to understanding Scotland in the nineteenth century, including,

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[2] G. Morton, 'Nationalism.'
[3] G. Morton, (1999) *Unionist-nationalism: Governing urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press).
[4] G. Morton, *Unionist-nationalism*; Cameron, 'Offensive to national sentiment?' 84.
[5] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 255.
[6] See: R.J. Morris and G. Morton, (1994) 'Where was nineteenth-century Scotland?', *SHR* 73; T.C. Smout, (1986) *A Century of the Scottish People* (London: Collins); Griffiths and Morton, 'Introduction'; J.F. McCaffrey, (1998) *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (London: MacMillan Press); W. Ferguson, (1968) *Scotland: 1869 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd), 330.

> population growth linked to patterns of emigration and rural-urban migration; urbanization, putting pressure on infrastructure, church and municipality; economic growth and changes in consumption patterns that linked world and local markets; empire becoming part of national and racial identity; and political and social individualism expressed within representative assembly and associational structures.[7]

Crucially, Morton and Morris go on to say that while these processes occurred in the context of changing perceptions of a national society, they were 'ultimately realised in the locality.'[8]

In 1994 T.C. Smout suggested a model of 'concentric loyalties' as a way of understanding Scottish identity.[9] He began with the family, and then steadily moved out to kin/clan, locality, nation, state, empire, and supranational.[10] He also discussed the importance of identities that are not necessarily linked to space, such as gender, class, occupation, race, religion, or sport.[11] In doing so, Smout was attempting to categorise the complicated question of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century by illustrating the many contributing factors. This thesis is particularly interested in the factors from closer to the beginning of the list, the personal and the local, but it would be amiss to not also consider the role of national identity. For example, many have questioned why a distinct Scottish identity emerged in this period, as opposed to a British one. Kidd has suggested Scottish and English 'whiggisms' failed to fuse together.[12] Morton has remarked how this lack of a British identity is particularly striking given the power Scotland had in the British Empire in the nineteenth century.[13] He argues it was because the elements of Scottish society that caused people to see it as unique – particularly the legal system, Presbyterianism, and the educational

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[7] G. Morton and R.J. Morris, (2001) 'Civil Society, Governance and Nation, 1832-1914,' in *The New Penguin History of Scotland*, ed. R.A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (London: Penguin Books), 356.
[8] Morton and Morris, 'Civil Society,' 356.
[9] T.C. Smout, 'Perspectives,' 101.
[10] Smout, 'Perspectives,' 102-103.
[11] Smout, 'Perspectives,' 103.
[12] C. Kidd, (1993) *Subverting Scotland's Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1.
[13] G. Morton, (2008) 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' in *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview,* vol. one, ed. G.H. Herb and D.H. Kaplan (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO), 233.

system – were already firmly in place.[14] Another reason Morton points to is the widespread opposition to overcentralised government, which meant many Scots wanted to keep legislative distance from Westminster where possible, which hindered the development of a British identity.[15]

Urbanisation is often pointed to as the critical process of change in nineteenth-century Scotland.[16] In addition to the growth of the four big cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen), by 1901 there were seventy-five towns with a population greater than 5,000.[17] Morris has suggested that towns were able to take on more power during industrialisation in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century because the necessary structures were already in place – namely the royal burghs.[18] This was then aided by further powers being devolved in the nineteenth century, including the Police Act of 1892, Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1897, and the Local Government Board (Scotland) in 1894 under the new Scottish Office.[19] Of the most importance to this study is how the towns performed this power by harkening to the past. When discussing the number of statues that reinforced specific aspects of the Scottish historical past, Morris suggests commemorations appealed to 'the evangelicals desire to shock, the journalists need to entertain and gain attention, the municipal official wanting to inform local government decisions and the migrant craving for nostalgia.'[20] Also crucial was the wealth that industrialisation brought to some levels of society, which led to the availability of funds to dedicate to commemoration.[21]

Another challenge to traditional identities came with the 1843 Disruption of the Kirk, which led to momentous changes within the religious community in Scotland. This was the culmination of a decade-long battle within

[14] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' 234.
[15] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' 235.
[16] Morton & Morris, 'Civil Society,' 363
[17] R.J. Morris, (1990) 'Introduction: Scotland, 1830-1914: The Making of a Nation Within a Nation,' in *People and Society in Scotland,* vol. two, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald), 81.
[18] Morris, 'Introduction,' 85
[19] Morris, 'Introduction,' 87
[20] Morris, 'New Spaces for Scotland,' 251
[21] McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, 55

the Church of Scotland, which resulted in one-third of the ministers and an estimated fifty percent of the laity leaving the established Church of Scotland to form the Free Church of Scotland.[22] The split exaggerated the regional divide in Scotland, as the vast majority of Highland parishioners left for the Free Church.[23] Despite this, the power of the new Free Church was increasingly centralised in the Lowlands, which alienated those in the Highlands.[24]

Stewart Brown has discussed the social effects of the Disruption.[25] The Free Church established new churches and schools remarkably quickly, which helped recreate a similar sense of community for parishioners.[26] That being said, the Disruption also gave an opportunity for the state to assume more control over its constituents, as there was no longer a dominant church.[27] It also 'undermined the Presbyterian nationalism that had shaped early modern Scotland.'[28] Coleman discussed the impact of Presbyterianism on Scotland and the Scottish identity extensively in his book, and he sums this up by saying 'simply put, Scotland was an overwhelmingly Presbyterian nation, and the accumulated history and culture of Presbyterianism was fundamental to its nationality.'[29] The Disruption caused this identity to be temporarily shaken. It also caused a change in commemorative practices. As Brown and Michael Fry have illustrated, Wallace and Bruce were not commemorated during this period when compared to groups like the Covenanters, whose narratives fit within the events of the Disruption better.[30] As will be revealed in the following section, however, this was also generally quite early in the period of commemorations for the Wars of Independence, so there was little widespread commemorative efforts.

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[22] J.L. MacLeod, (2000) *The Second Disruption* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press), 1.
[23] MacLeod, *The Second Disruption*, 3.
[24] MacLeod, *The Second Disruption*, 3.
[25] S.J. Brown, (1993) 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843,' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, ed. M. Fry and S.J. Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
[26] Brown, 'Ten Years' Conflict,' 1.
[27] Brown, 'Ten Years' Conflict,' 24.
[28] Brown, 'Ten Years' Conflict,' 2.
[29] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 27.
[30] M. Fry, (1993) 'The Disruption and the Union,' in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, ed. M. Fry and S.J. Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 38; Brown, 'Ten Years' Conflict.'

This lack of commemoration of the Wars of Independence during the Disruption stands in contrast to the passage of the 1832 Reform Act, which precipitated widespread electoral changes, is often pointed to as a key political moment in nineteenth-century Scotland.[31] It simultaneously led to a surge of support for the Union through the long period of Whig-liberal power that followed in Scotland, while also becoming a rallying point for early instances of modern Scottish nationalism.[32] Gordon Pentland has shown how Scottish history was used by reformers 'to place themselves in a narrative of liberty that was genuinely British.'[33] Heroes from the Wars of Independence, in addition to the Covenanters, were portrayed as being part of a tradition that directly linked them with modern reformers.[34] In a separate study, Pentland illustrated how Wallace and Bruce were not portrayed as anti-English in this period, but rather 'as Scottish figures who had bravely resisted tyranny and thus contributed to the cause of British liberty.'[35] There are many examples in this thesis of Wallace and Bruce being portrayed in this way, as heroes of liberty for Scotland, not as anti-English rebels.

The Reform Act, along with subsequent reforms in the following decade, led to concerns that Scotland was losing some of the power to control its own affairs.[36] This feeling grew throughout the century and the Scottish Office was created in 1885.[37] Despite this, or perhaps as a result, the Scottish Home Rule Association was established in 1886, and calls for further devolved powers for Scotland continued in the following years.[38] This was a direct response to calls for Irish Home Rule, and Prime Minister William Gladstone's first bill on Irish

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[31] G. Pentland, (2005) 'Scotland and the creation of a national reform movement, 1830-32,' *The Historical Journal* 48:4; G. Pentland, (2008) *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press); Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 24; Ash, *Strange Death*, 135.
[32] Ash, *Strange Death*, 135.
[33] Pentland, 'Scotland and the creation of a national reform movement,' 1023.
[34] Pentland, 'Scotland and the creation of a national reform movement,' 1023.
[35] Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity*, 138.
[36] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 25.
[37] E. Cameron, (2010) *Impaled upon a thistle: Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 62.
[38] Cameron, *Impaled upon a thistle*, 62.

Home Rule in the same year.[39] Unlike in Ireland, however, where there were suggestions of an ultimate goal of an independent Ireland, in Scotland was largely a devolved parliament within the existing structure.[40] The question of Scottish Home Rule would remain an on-going issue throughout the period of this thesis, and its influence will be clear in several of the commemorative acts in this thesis, particularly at the Elderslie Wallace Memorial in Chapter Four.

Another significant influence on Scottish identity from later in this period was the First World War, which brought the emergence of emphasising a martial tradition in Scotland. Though this was widely utilised in war propaganda, it has much older roots in Scottish culture.[41] Hew Strachan has suggested that performing their 'warrior identity' helped Scots confirm their identify, which Jenny Macleod has argued was reflected in the high rate of Scottish voluntary enlistment during the First World War. [42] The Wars of Independence were regularly used to help reinforce this tradition by rooting it in the Middle Ages, as will be seen in a number of examples in this thesis.

Macleod has asked whether Scotland maintained this 'martial and imperialist identity' following the war.[43] She has suggested there were three responses, 'while one strand of thought rejected the British Empire outright, another saw nationalism as a means to strengthen the empire, and a third strand looked forward to Scotland becoming a self-governing dominion.'[44] These various responses were the result of the 'profound impact' of the First World War, which led to further concerns about Scotland's identity in relation to the Union.[45] The impact of this included less centralized power within the Empire, ongoing economic issues, high levels of emigration from Scotland, and

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[39] G. Morton, (2000) 'The First Home Rule Movement in Scotland, 1886-1918,' in *The Challenge to Westminster,* ed. H.T. Dickinson and M. Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell Press), 114.
[40] N. Kane, (2015) *A Study of the Debate on Scottish Home Rule, 1886-1914,* PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh), 107; Morton, 'First Home Rule Movement,' 113.
[41] Cameron, *Impaled upon a thistle*, 103.
[42] H. Strachan, (2006) 'Scotland's Military Identity,' *SHR* 85, 328, quoted in J. MacLeod, (2010) '"By Scottish Hands, with Scottish Money, on Scottish Soil": The Scottish National War Memorial and National Identity,' *Journal of British Studies* 49:1, 75.
[43] J. MacLeod, (2010) 'Memorials and Location: Local versus national identity and the Scottish National War Memorial' *SHR* 89, 176.
[44] Macleod, 'By Scottish Hands,' 76.
[45] Finlay, 'Controlling the Past,' 136.

the housing crisis.[46] Finlay suggests that for many 'history was all Scotland had left to prove her nationality and it had to be readapted to suit the changed circumstances of the inter-war period.'[47] Since Scotland's place within the Union was shifting, how it framed the key parts of its history also had to be refocused. This also accounts for the decline in interest for the Wars of Independence from the outset of the Second World War.

The changes that Scotland faced between 1800 and 1939 had varying influences, which have been well-documented by historians. The factor that had perhaps the biggest influence on this period was urbanisation, which brought both people and wealth into towns and cities. Calls for further political autonomy for Scotland then caused Westminster to give more power to these growing towns, which in turn led to the impulse to perform this newfound power through acts of commemoration. Occasionally events also led to a decline in commemorative activities, such as the Disruption and the First World War. Further links to the wider events in Scotland in this period will be identified throughout this thesis. Having now considered the wider events impacting commemorations at this time, it is now time to consider the big picture of the commemorative acts themselves.

2.2: The Commemorative Context

This section will consider the commemorations to the Wars of Independence as a group, in order to better situate the case studies throughout this thesis within the wider trends. A list of all ninety-two case studies that will be subsequently discussed in this thesis is included in Appendix Three. Figure 2.1 shows these commemorations both in terms of type and date. Since this chart shows only the case studies, it is not a definitive outline of every example of commemoration from this period. However, given the significant number of

[46] Finlay, 'Controlling the Past,' 136-137.
[47] Finlay, 'Controlling the Past,' 137.

commemorations included, it does suggest some important trends, both when considering the types of commemorations and the dates they were created.

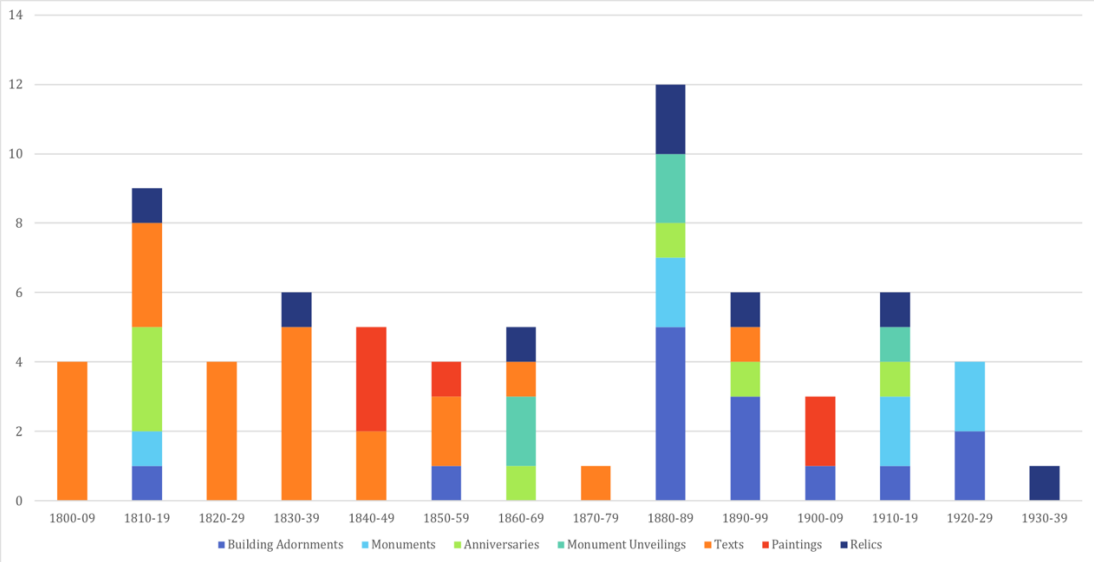

Figure 2.1: Case studies from this thesis separated by date and type

Looking first at the popular periods of commemorations, as identified by Figure 2.1, the clear periods of interest were 1810 to 1819 and 1880 to 1889. This first decade can partially be explained by the 500th anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn that occurred in 1814, which will be discussed further in Chapter Four. This explains the popularity for anniversaries that can be seen in the chart. The other most popular type of commemoration in this period is texts, which will be discussed in Chapter Five. This decade saw the release of Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* in 1815, a reprint of Hamilton's version of Hary's *The Wallace* in 1812, and a poem about the life of Wallace. Though not included in this section of the chart, 1809 also saw the release of Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*, all of which illustrate the popularity of written work about the life of Wallace in this early period of commemoration to the Wars. Outside of texts, the remains of Bruce were also thought to be discovered in Dunfermline in 1818, which provided some interest in the commemoration of Bruce (see Chapter Three and Four). This trend of commemorations tending to be focused on Wallace, with the small exception of Bannockburn, in the first half of the

nineteenth century will continue throughout this thesis. Finally, this decade was generally a popular time for commemorative practices beyond the Wars of Independence. The Glenfinnan Monument, marking the landing of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' at the beginning of the Jacobite rising, was erected in 1815, and construction of the Nelson Monument in Edinburgh began the same year. The honours of Scotland were put on display in Edinburgh castle in 1818, showing further interest in the Scottish historical past. It is clear that in general this was a decade when Scottish people were becoming interested in the past and displaying that interest through commemorations.

The reasons behind the spike between 1880 and 1889 are slightly more opaque. Most notably, there is a clear jump in the number of monuments built in this period. This may be due to the general enthusiasm for monument building across Europe in the late-nineteenth century.[48] It may also be a reaction against the complete lack of monuments built to the Wars of Independence the previous decade, though the most noteworthy acts of commemorations from this decade were the unveiling of the statue to Greyfriars' Bobby in Edinburgh (1873) and the white stag created on Mormond Hill outside of Aberdeen (1870). Perhaps because of the lack of commemorations to Scottish history there was a fear the Wars of Independence would be overshadowed, so there was a concerted effort to create more. It was also generally a decade where there was must interest in the in Scottish history. This decade saw the formation of the Scottish History Society, the Historical Association of Scotland, the Scottish Text Society, and the first edition of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* was published. A number of Highland regiments, including the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Gordon Highlanders, and Highland Light Infantry were formed under the Childers Reforms of the British Army in 1881. The memorial cairn was built at the site of the battle of Culloden the same year, within the background of the Crofters Wars, which reached their peak in this decade. Of course, this is also a period when the place of Scotland within the Union was

[48] J. Rodger, (2005) *The Hero Building: An Architecture of Scottish National Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate), 10.

very much alive. The first half of the decade was characterised by Gladstonian Liberalism, and Irish Home Rule occurred in 1886. The decade also saw the establishment of a secretaryship for Scotland, and the 1885 Convention of Royal Burghs saw the power of towns grow. Scottish electorship also grew in this decade thanks to reforms. Since, as discussed in the previous chapter, the question of Scotland's place within the Union often led to expressions of interest in Scottish history, this is the likely explanation for why there was such popularity for commemorating the Wars of Independence in this decade.

In addition to the high points in the commemorative process, the chart also illustrates the low points. The decade from 1870 to 1879 has already been identified as a period of low commemoration, particularly when compared to the following decade. The other low point was from 1930 to 1939, which can be largely explained by two phenomena. The first is the global depression that was occurring, with little extra money being available for commemorations. The second is the sheer number of monuments built the decade before, following the First World War. Though, as will be discussed in the following chapter, there were monuments to the Wars built at the same time, perhaps the large number of monuments now existing in towns across the country led to less impetus to build more. This also reinforces the reasoning for the end of this project being 1939. There is a clear drop in interest during this decade.

Turning now to type, there are some commemorative acts that span the time period. One example is relics, which appear scattered throughout. Since these were generally the same objects that were just brought out for different events, it makes sense that they would reappear throughout the period. It is also clear that some types of commemoration were more popular at certain times than others. For example, texts were more popular in the nineteenth century. This reflects the antiquarian's propensity for club books, the popularity of Jane Porter and Walter Scott's works on the Wars, the printed versions of the poems *The Bruce* and *Wallace*, and the early chapbooks, all of which will be discussed in Chapter Five. Given that texts were Ash's main source when suggesting the 'strange death' theory, this also indicates why she argued their decline marked a more general decline in interest in Scottish history. In contrast, building

adornments and monuments are much more common in the latter half of the time period. This reflects wider trends in commemoration, with monuments becoming most popular towards the end of the nineteenth century across Europe. This is also an example of trends within commemoration for the Wars of Independence themselves, as it appears once one town put up a monument or a mural to these events then others wanted to follow suit. This also illustrates why it is necessary to consider a variety of types of commemorative acts, since they are subject to wider trends.

As will become particularly clear in Chapter Four, these acts of commemoration did not occur in isolation, but rather in relation to each other. In periods of high commemoration, such as the 1880s, there were a large number of similar commemorative types, suggesting that people looked to others to determine how to commemorate the Wars. Similarly, in times with fewer examples it seems that people were either less interested in commemorating more generally or were remembering other events. Now that they have been identified, these wider trends in commemoration will be referred to throughout this thesis, in order to illustrate the relationship between commemorative acts and the wider commemorative context.

2.3: The Scholarly Context

In order to understand how the Wars of Independence were commemorated, this section will consider how historians viewed the Wars in this period. Consideration will first be given to what aspects of the Wars historians wrote about and how this changed. This will include history books, entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and editions of *The Scottish Historical Review* (*SHR*). This will be followed by a discussion on how the Wars were referred to during this period, as the term 'Wars of Independence' was not commonly used until the twentieth century.

Scotland was very much in vogue in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. Walter Scott's *Waverly* novels and Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* brought stories from Scottish history to the hands of readers around the world. George

IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822 and Victoria's purchase of the Balmoral estate in 1848, in addition to her subsequent adoption of many of the more 'traditional' Scottish pastimes and fashions, both contributed to the growing cultural impact.[49] This interest has often been discussed because of its impact on Highlandism, but it also contributed more generally to the growing interest in Scotland and Scottish history in this period.[50] There are other examples of a turn towards the historical in Scotland. At the General Register House, a room was appropriated to be used for 'the pursuit of enquiries of a literary or historical nature…rather than for legal purposes.'[51] New chairs of Scottish history were established at the University of Edinburgh in 1901 and the University of Glasgow in 1913.[52] There was little agreement, however, about how this history should be represented.[53] This may account for the variety of types of commemorations that are seen during this period.

The interest in the Scottish historical past can also be linked to the antiquarian movement, which grew out of the wider Romantic period that linked the Enlightenment and the modern period in much of Europe in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.[54] Putting actual dates on this time period is difficult. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on the first half of the nineteenth century until approximately 1860, by which time the dissolution of most of the antiquarian clubs in Scotland had occurred.[55] This

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[49] G. Morton, (2007) 'National Identity – Victorian and Edwardian era,' in *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 8.

[50] G. Morton, 'National Identity – Victorian and Edwardian,' 442.

[51] M.D. Young, (1974) 'The Age of the Deputy Clerk Register, 1806-1928,' *SHR* 53, 169.

[52] E.J. Cowan, (2014) 'Patriotism, Public Opinion and the 'People's Chair' of Scottish History and Literature,' *Scottish Historical Review* 93; Kidd, '*Strange Death* Revisited,' 102; Details of this are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

[53] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* 6.

[54] S. Curran, ed., (2010) *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism,* second ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), xi.

[55] The publishing clubs of the nineteenth century grew out of a culture of clubs that existed in Scotland during the Enlightenment. The official purpose of the clubs was to publish historical documents. This is reflective of both the bibliographic desire to collect rare books and documents, as well as the need to create a more coherent Scottish history. Altogether, the eight Scottish clubs produced no fewer than 284 volumes in less than fifty years. Only a tiny percentage of these are related to the Wars of Independence. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five. See: M. Ash, (1972) 'Scott and Historical Publishing: The Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs,' in *Scots Antiquaries and Historians,* ed. Abertay Historical Society (Dundee, Abertay

does not signal an end to historical interest in Scotland, but rather a time when that interest was expressed in different ways.

There are several features that characterize the antiquarian movement in Scotland. The stereotypical antiquary was aristocratic, male, and held a curiosity about the past that could only be sated by devoting copious amounts of time and money to its study. To be Scottish within a British framework was a central concern of these men. The antiquaries were not nationalists, indeed they had some of the strongest ties to the Union, but they believed promoting the Scottish past would make Scotland more of an equal partner within the Union.[56] This desire was articulated by the antiquary John Mackenzie in 1830, 'it was long a matter of reproach to Scotland, that while England possessed printed Collections of nearly all their Ancient Chronicles, those relating to this Country remained in manuscript, and were thus, from the difficulty of access, comparatively of little use to the general Historian.'[57] This focus on the collection of documents was a central feature of antiquarianism and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Their work was largely document-based, and they were largely focused on preserving these documents in publications, rather than interpreting them.[58] Due to their documentary basis, antiquarian works tended to be about specific events and people, rather than the metanarratives that were more common in the eighteenth century.[59] There was also a devotion to certain historical tropes, particularly famous figures such as Bruce, Wallace, Charles Edward Stuart, or Mary Queen of Scots.[60] In addition to books and documents, the antiquaries also took pride in collecting historical artefacts; Scott's personal collection of historical curiosities at Abbotsford is a

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Historical Society); I. Ferris, (2005) 'Printing the Past: Walter Scott's Bannatyne Club and the Antiquarian Document,' *Romanticism* 11:2; C.S. Terry, (1909) *A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, 1780-1908* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons).

[56] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* 298.

[57] J.W. Mackenzie, (1830) *A chronicle of the Kings of Scotland from Fergus the First to James the Sixth* (Edinburgh: Maitland Club), ix.

[58] T.I. Rae, (1972) 'The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition,' in *Scots Antiquaries and Historians*, ed. Abertay Historical Society (Dundee, Abertay Historical Society), 18.

[59] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* 46.

[60] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 28.

striking example of this phenomenon.[61] Their interest in material culture is also demonstrated by many antiquaries' interest in archaeology.

With the increasing interest in the Scottish historical past in the early to mid-nineteenth century came popular history books. One of the best-known histories of Scotland during this period was Patrick Fraser Tytler's three-volume *History of Scotland*.[62] Walter Scott is said to have encouraged Tytler to undertake the project, given the new documentary evidence that was being published by the antiquarian clubs.[63] The first volume included the Wars of Independence amongst other 'subjects upon which all Scots could agree to be proud.'[64] Tytler largely focused on the lives of Wallace and Bruce in this account, which continued in his *Lives of Scottish Worthies* (1832).[65] In general, Tytler's work illustrated some of the wider opinions about the Wars of Independence in the antiquarian period. He referred to Wallace's popularity in Scotland, saying 'throughout every part of Scotland some traditions are to be found of his exploits.'[66] This indicates fairly widespread memorialisation of Wallace was already occurring in the early-nineteenth century. Tytler makes no mention of similar traditions surrounding Bruce's legacy, though he does devote extensive time to Bruce in this volume. He emphasizes Bruce's good character, for example, 'the splendour of Bruce's victories is not stained by a single act of cruelty or revenge.'[67] As a devoted Tory and defender of the aristocracy, it is likely that Bruce, an aristocrat, appealed to his worldview more than Wallace, the everyman. Though this first volume was well-received, Tytler became increasingly unpopular throughout the nineteenth century, both because of his defence of the aristocracy and as the Whigs came into power.[68]

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[61] I.G. Brown, ed., (2003) *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).
[62] P.F. Tytler, (1828) *History of Scotland*, volume one (Edinburgh: William Tait), 283.
[63] M. Fry, (2004) 'Tytler, Patrick Fraser,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/27968; Ash, *Strange Death*, 87.
[64] Ash, *Strange Death*, 103
[65] P.F. Tytler, (1832) *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, volume one (London: John Murray), 283.
[66] Tytler, *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, volume one, 283.
[67] P.F. Tytler, (1832) *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, volume two (London: John Murray), 152-153.
[68] Fry, 'Tytler, Patrick Fraser,' *ODNB*.

Another example of a history book from the antiquarian period is Cosmo Innes' *Scotland in the Middle Ages* (1860).[69] Innes was one of the most prolific antiquarian writers on medieval Scotland, though the Wars of Independence only appeared in a handful of his works.[70] Innes devoted a significant section of *Scotland in the Middle Ages* to the Wars of Independence though he was largely focused on the succession crisis following the death of Alexander III. Unusually, Innes does not cover the Battle of Bannockburn, one of the most well-known events from the Wars, and he only refers to Wallace once, when he describes the period as 'the wars of Wallace and Bruce.'[71] This focus on the succession crisis, when the English and Scottish kingdoms were not yet in open war, may be reflective of the support for the Union at this time. This was easier to justify in the current political climate than, for example, the Battle of Bannockburn. Innes' also discussed the Wars of Independence in *Sketches of Early Scottish History* published the following year.[72] Innes was again focused on Bruce's good character, and at one point says that his 'affectionate sympathy' for a foe who swore fealty to Edward I, 'gives us some insight into his character.'[73] Innes' focus on Bruce had different roots than Tytler's. He was largely driven by a desire to show the 'singular nature of the Scottish historical experience without recourse to the misty glens or noble savagery of the Celtic revival.'[74] Therefore, he was promoting Bruce's actions as a wider part of his promotion of the Scottish historical past.

The ongoing promotion of Scottish history in this period, along with the growth of history as a subject taught at universities, lead to the professionalisation of Scottish history. An early example of this shift was John

[69] C. Innes, (1860) *Scotland in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas).
[70] R.A. Marsden, (2004) 'Innes, Cosmo Nelson,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14428.
[71] Innes, *Middle Ages*, 31.
[72] C. Innes, (1861) *Sketches of Early Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas).
[73] Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, 49.
[74] Marsden, 'Innes, Cosmo Nelson,' *ODNB*.

Hill Burton's *The History of Scotland* (1867).[75] Burton's account of the Wars of Independence is by far the longest account in this section, a full 258 pages. He spent a lot of time discussing the succession crisis that marked the beginning of the conflict. He also had a chapter devoted to the events following the Battle of Bannockburn to the death of Bruce in 1329. This is unusual as many of the earlier accounts ended their discussion of the Wars following the Battle of Bannockburn. Burton published *The History of Scotland* in instalments, beginning in 1867 and concluding posthumously in 1890.[76] It was criticized, however, as overemphasizing the aspects of the history that suited Burton's Episcopalian views.[77]

The professionalisation of Scottish history continued into the beginning of the twentieth century, which has been studied largely through the lens Scottish universities, particularly the naming of chairs of Scottish history.[78] These historians published several histories of the Wars of Independence. One example came from Robert Rait, the first holder of the Chair of Scottish History and Literature at the University of Glasgow in 1913.[79] His *History of Scotland* was first published in 1914 and was reprinted and revised several times in the subsequent decades. The first sentence of Rait's book is about the Wars of Independence, where he suggested 'the essential fact in the history of Scotland in the Middle Ages is the War of Independence.'[80] He went on to recount the earlier medieval history of Scotland as a means of revealing Edward I did not 'hammer Scotland into nationality,' but rather a sense of Scottishness had been

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[75] J. Hill Burton, (1873) *The history of Scotland from Agricola's invasion to the extinction of the last Jacobite insurrection*, volume two (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons).
[76] M. Fry, (2004) 'Burton, John Hill,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4135.
[77] Fry, 'Burton, John Hill,' *ODNB*.
[78] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion'; B. Lenman, (1973) 'The teaching of Scottish History in the Scottish universities,' *Scottish Historical Review* 52; R. Anderson, (2012) 'University teaching, national identity and unionism in Scotland, 1862-1914,' *SHR* 91; C.M.M. Macdonald, (2015) 'Andrew Lang and Scottish Historiography: Taking on Tradition,' *SHR* 94.
[79] D.M. Abbott, (2004) 'Rait, Sir Robert,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35655.
[80] R.S. Rait, (1929) *History of Scotland* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd.), 1.

growing throughout the Middle Ages.[81] Another book was Peter Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* (1911), who held the first 'Sir William Fraser professorship of ancient (Scottish) history and palaeography' at the University of Edinburgh.[82] This book was commissioned by Cambridge University Press, suggesting that histories of Scotland were popular in England as well as Scotland.[83] Hume Brown divided his discussion into three sections, partially inspired by the heroes of the Wars: 'Beginnings of the Struggle,' 'William Wallace,' and 'Robert Bruce.' Like Burton, Hume Brown's description of the Wars did not end with Bannockburn, but also covered the remainder of Bruce's reign. Alongside these 'professional' accounts were more publicly facing popular books. One such example is Andrew Lang's *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation*, which was published in four volumes between 1900 and 1907.[84] In the first volume, Lang devoted seventy-nine pages to the Wars of Independence, which he split into two chapters: 'To the Death of Wallace' and 'The Wars of Bruce,' again showing the influence of these men.[85]

Histories of Scotland were not confined to published monographs in the twentieth century. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, published between 1885 and 1900, included entries for both Wallace and Bruce. Aeneas Mackay was the author of both entries, plus 125 others, all of which were largely focused on the Middle Ages.[86] Mackay was a historian and a lawyer, and he followed Cosmo Innes as the Professor of Constitutional Law and History at the

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[81] Rait, *History of Scotland*, 1.
[82] P. Hume Brown, (1911) *History of Scotland. Vol 1, To the accession of Mary Stewart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); J. Robertson, (2004) 'Brown, Peter Hume,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32115.
[83] Robertson, 'Brown, Peter Hume,' *ODNB*.
[84] A. Lang, (1900) *A history of Scotland from the Roman occupation,* volume one (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons); W. Donaldson, (2004) 'Lang, Andrew,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34396.
[85] Lang, *A history of Scotland*.
[86] A.H. Millar, (2004) 'Mackay, Aeneas James George,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34738.

University of Edinburgh.[87] He was also one of the founding members of the Scottish History Society.[88]

In Mackay's entry for Wallace there was a focus on historical accuracy, such as when his birthplace was described, 'probably at Elderslie William Wallace was born; but there is little likelihood that an old yew in the garden, or the venerable oak which perished in the storm of February 1856…to all of which his name was attached by tradition, existed in his lifetime.'[89] The story was acknowledged, but only to suggest that it was a falsehood. Mackay also the suggested that Wallace had gained more fame since his execution than he enjoyed in life, though he said the circumstances of his death were the reason for this, 'the fame of Wallace has been increased by the circumstances of his trial and execution, for they wrote in indelible characters in the annals of England and its capital what might otherwise have been deemed the exaggeration of the Scottish people.'[90] It is striking that the author suggests if the account did not appear in English chronicles then it would not be taken as truthful. This suggests there may have been aspects of Scottish history that were deemed 'exaggerations.' In addition, the need to justify the aims of Wallace within popularity for the Union is evident when the author describes Wallace as 'chief enemy of Edward in the premature attempt to unite Britain.'[91] The suggestion here is that the unification of Britain did not occur during the Wars of Independence so that it could occur at the opportune moment several centuries later. In comparison, the entry for Bruce is quite a bit shorter, despite him having a much longer and better documented career than Wallace.[92] Since their entries were both completed by Mackay it is likely indicative of Wallace's wider popularity in this period.

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[87] Millar, 'Mackay, Aeneas James George,' *ODNB*.
[88] Millar, 'Mackay, Aeneas James George,' *ODNB*.
[89] A.J.G. Mackay, 'Wallace, Sir William,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-28544.
[90] 'Wallace, Sir William,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive.
[91] 'Wallace, Sir William,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive.
[92] A.J.G. MacKay, 'Bruce, Robert,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-3754.

Another way in which historians disseminated their research was through journals. *The Scottish Historical Review* published twenty-five volumes between 1903 and 1928, reflecting the growing professionalisation of Scottish history. There were eight articles relating to the Wars of Independence published in these editions. The first dates from 1904 and was in the third edition of the journal. Hume Brown wrote an article about the succession crisis, which was also the topic of one of his three chapters dedicated to the Wars of Independence in his 1911 book, which was discussed above.[93] The second article, written by Evan Barron in 1909, considered the role of the 'North of Scotland' in the Wars.[94] Barron would go on to write a book called *The Scottish War of Independence* in 1914, and became editor of *The Inverness Courier* in 1919.[95] Barron cited both 'professional' historians, including Hume Brown, and 'popular' ones, such as Lang in his work.[96] Barron himself would be classified more as a popular historian. The next article was by Conservative MP Herbert Maxwell, who analysed the available near-contemporary sources on the Battle of Bannockburn.[97] He had already written a book on the Wars of Independence in 1897, *Robert the Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence.*[98] Maxwell's was one of two articles on the battle from 1914, the year of the 600th anniversary. The second was by Thomas Miller and considered the specific location of the battle.[99] In 1918 Geo. Neilson wrote an in-depth article on how Edward I chose Balliol as king.[100] There was then an eight-year gap before the final three articles were published. In 1926 Thomas Bryce expressed his concern over whether remains at Dunfermline Abbey Church in 1818 actually belonged to Bruce.[101] His conclusion was that 'there is a probability, even a

[93] P. Hume Brown, (1904) 'The Moulding of the Scottish Nation,' *SHR* 3.
[94] E.M. Barron, (1909) 'A New View of the War of Independence,' *SHR* 6.
[95] E.M. Barron, (1914) *The Scottish War of Independence* (London: J. Nisbet).
[96] Barron, 'A New View,' 129.
[97] H. Maxwell, (1914) 'The Battle of Bannockburn,' *SHR* 11.
[98] H. Maxwell, (1897) *Robert the Bruce and the Struggle for Scottish Independence* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons).
[99] T. Miller, (1914) 'The Site of the New Park in Relation to the Battle of Bannockburn,' *SHR* 12.
[100] G. Neilson, (1918) 'Brus versus Balliol, 1291-1292: The Model for Edward I.'s Tribunal,' *SHR* 16.
[101] T.H. Bryce, (1926) 'The Skull of King Robert the Bruce,' *SHR* 23.

strong probability, but not a certainty that the tomb discovered in 1818 was actually that of King Robert the Bruce.'[102] This discovery will be discussed at length in Chapter Four. The final two articles were focused on early parliaments during the succession crisis. G.O. Sayles considered the parliament held by the Guardians of Scotland in 1300, and the following year joined H.G. Henderson to examine 'The Scottish Parliaments of Edward I.'[103]In Sayles' first article, he attempted to explain the lack of historical documents from the Wars of Independence, suggesting that 'in all probability, in those troubled times when the country was divided against itself despite the presence of a common foe, there was little or no attempt to keep records at all, and the public archives of England have therefore been ransacked for such evidence as they can afford.'[104]

These eight articles have a number of things in common. Many of them are focused on the earliest parts of the Wars, particularly the succession crisis following the death of Alexander III. This may have been because the succession crisis was easier to fit into the unionist-nationalism narrative of the nineteenth century. It may also show a time when popular commemorations diverged from academic history, as the succession crisis receives very little in the way of commemoration. With the exception of the two articles by Sayles, they are also all written by different authors. Therefore, a number of people were studying the Wars of Independence and offering their unique interpretations. Several of the articles also have a historiographical focus.

When considering all of these histories of Scotland from 1800 to 1939, it is clear the term 'Wars of Independence' was not commonly used until the twentieth century. The earliest accounts were hesitant to title these events at all. Walter Scott dubbed it the 'civil wars,' indicating a political connection between Scotland and English that did not exist in the Middle Ages.[105] Many of the accounts from the end of the nineteenth century referred to the Wars as a

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[102] Bryce, 'The Skull of King Robert,' 91.
[103] G.O. Sayles, (1927) 'The Guardians of Scotland and a Parliament at Rutherglen in 1300,' *SHR* 24; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, (1928) 'The Scottish Parliaments of Edward I,' *SHR* 25.
[104] Sayles, 'The Guardians of Scotland,' 245.
[105] W. Scott, (1830) *The History of Scotland (*London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green).

'struggle,' including Hume Brown's 'Beginnings of the Struggle' and Maxwell's *Struggle for Scottish Independence*.[106] This term may have been used to downplay the conflict, as 'struggle' sounds much less significant than 'war.' The Wars of Independence were also referred to by the heroes – Lang called it the 'War of Bruce' and Innes the 'wars of Wallace and Bruce.'[107] The twentieth century saw the emergence of the term 'War of Independence,' indicating that any later conflicts between the Scottish and English kingdoms were still viewed as separate. This was used by Charles Sanford Terry, Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen in his *A Short History of Scotland* in 1921, indicating that this was a popular term with the professional historians.[108] It was also favoured by Burton, both *Dictionary of National Biography* entries, a guide to the National Wallace Monument from 1909, and as do several of the articles from *The Scottish Historical Review*.[109]

This variety of names can reveal a lot about how the events of the wars were framed and viewed in this period. This is clear when comparing Scott's 1830 description of the period as a 'civil war' to Hume Brown's 1904 account of 'a war for bare existence against a foreign invader.'[110] Scott's 'civil wars' implies there was an existing nation within which the battle was occurring, which was not the case. In contrast, Hume Brown refers to England as a 'foreign invader.' The term 'war of independence,' which was later expanded to include the events of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries under David II and became 'Wars of Independence,' is the most dramatic and striking title. This is likely the reason it has become the popular title.

Today, the conflict is almost exclusively referred to as the First War of Independence or the Wars of Independence. However, as so often happens with naming, the use of the word 'independence' is rather problematic historically.

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[106] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. one; Maxwell, *Robert the Bruce*.
[107] Lang, *A History of Scotland*; Innes, *Middle Ages*, 31.
[108] C.S. Terry, (1921) *A Short History of Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 39.
[109] Burton, *History of Scotland*; Mackay, 'Wallace, Sir William,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive; Mackay, 'Bruce, Robert de VI,' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive; W. Middleton, (1909) *Guide to the National Wallace Monument* (Stirling: W. Middleton); Barron, 'A New View'; Sayles, 'The Guardians of Scotland.'
[110] Brown, 'Moulding of the Scottish Nation,' 247.

The Scottish kingdom did not gain independence from anyone during the wars, but rather battled a rival power. A name that misrepresents the events misshapes our views of history. A more appropriate term for the period from 1286 to 1328 would be the first Anglo-Scottish War. Since this thesis is focused on public commemorations, however, the term Wars of Independence will be used as it is the most commonly recognised term.

2.4: Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to ground the following acts of commemoration that form the central chapters of this thesis within the relevant historical, commemorative contexts, and scholarly contexts. When giving the historical background I identified the key events and movements in Scotland during this period that impacted the commemorations in this thesis. This is by no means an exhaustive explanation of Scotland in the long nineteenth century, but rather a means to contextualise the decisions behind some of the following commemorations. This was followed by an examination of all of the acts of commemoration mentioned in this thesis, which provided a view of the wider field in which the case studies were created. The trends in commemoration were considered by both date and type, and these will be explored further throughout this thesis. Finally, the history of the Wars of Independence as a subject of scholarship was considered, in order to show the knowledge some people may have had access to in this period. The actual use of the term 'Wars of Independence' was also examined, as the name by which an event is referred to can have a significant impact on the commemoration surrounding it. Overall, the period from 1800 to 1939 was one of change in Scotland, and it is necessary to have an understanding of this climate in order to consider the circumstances in which these commemorations were created.

Chapter Three
Unmovable Commemorations – The Durability of Memory

This chapter is focused on commemorations that are part of the built environment. These examples are all, theoretically, unmovable. They were created with the intention that they will be a lasting part of the landscape, though this is not always the case. The first section will be focused on commemorations that act as adornment on buildings. These play a dual role, as they are both commemoration and decoration. They take the form of statues on buildings, murals, and stained-glass windows. These are all types of art, so they are made to look beautiful, but they are also created to be commemorative, so they also memorialise an aspect of the past. The second section of this chapter considers monuments, one of the more obvious and self-conscious examples of commemoration. Though these are built as acts of commemoration, much like building adornments they also have aesthetic appeal. This section will consider two types of monuments. The first are purpose-built structures that are created to memorialise the past. The second type are landmark objects, which are parts of the environment that become associated with historical stories, and thus become places of remembrance as a type a natural monument. The role of historical accuracy in commemoration will be particularly pertinent in this discussion of landmark objects. All of these acts of commemoration – building adornments, monuments, and landmark objects – reveal how locality is formed and presented through aspects of the built environment. Historic, personal, and municipal locality will be especially relevant in this chapter. The role of the public will be explored in terms of how different members of society were involved in the planning, funding, and building of these commemorative acts.

3.1: Building Adornment

Commemorations can become adornments either during the initial building process or when they are added onto existing structures. Some of these buildings are in themselves examples of commemoration, such as the stained-glass windows in the National Wallace Monument, while others are part of

buildings that have other purposes, like the murals in the City Chambers in Edinburgh. The first part of this section will focus on statues that are added to the façade of buildings. Stand-alone statues will be considered later in this chapter when monuments are analysed, but the particular phenomenon of adding statues to a building will be examined here as it is a type of adornment. The second part of this section will focus on murals that are added to public buildings. They are loosely defined as a series of artistic decorations meant to commemorate a story or person from the past. They differ from paintings, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, in that they are permanent, rather than a canvas that could be moved. The final type of commemoration in this section, stained-glass windows, gained popularity during this period both in civic and religious buildings.

Statues on buildings

Statues that are specifically placed on buildings, rather than those that are standalone pieces, are not often separated from one another in the historiography. They are separated in this thesis, however, due to the nature of the following case studies. Many of them are meant for more decorative purposes then the statues that will be seen in the subsequent discussion of monuments. The intention of their creation is more related to murals and stained-glass windows – as objects that enhance a building – rather than as a monumental commemoration. This does mean, however, that the historiography tends to be about statues in their own right, rather than their impact on a building. Bruce Haley has examined Romantic statues and suggests that images of people were popular because they were powerful, as 'in a metaphysical sense they stand for a past that has passed away.'[1] Many scholars are focused on using statues as a way to shed light on the political landscape. Helke Rausch has looked at statues as 'symbolic strategies' to promote

[1] B. Haley, (2003) *Living Forms: Romantics and the Monumental Figure* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 5.

nationalism in Western Europe in the late nineteenth century.[2] J.E. Cookson, while looking at the Duke of Wellington statues that were built in the early nineteenth century in Edinburgh and Glasgow, discusses how these statues displayed a form of unionist-nationalism, but not on the form of the statues themselves.[3] The following examples will consider both of these approaches – why statues were chosen to decorate buildings and what their presence can reveal about the commemorative climate.

On Queen Street in Edinburgh stands a neo-Gothic, red sandstone building, which is home to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The origins of the Portrait Gallery began with David Steuart Erskine, the eleventh Earl of Buchan. Buchan was born in 1742 into an aristocratic family. His adult life illustrates his two, somewhat conflicting, interests. The first is his clear aspiration to promote interest in the Scottish historical past, and the second is his desire for political reform. He actively campaigned in several elections for reforms to be made to the House of Lords and for sixteen peers from the Scottish peerage to be included.[4] Though gaining some support, no change came as a result of his actions, and he retired from politics in 1780, though he continued to identify with reform Whig interests.[5] Kidd has suggested he reconciled these calls for reform with his interest in Scottish history through a 'whiggish intellectual patriotism,' which disagreed with more recent constitutional decisions, but celebrated a 'libertarian' Scottish past.[6]

Following his formal retirement from politics, Buchan founded the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Buchan served as the senior vice-president and was responsible for the running of the society.[7] He also provided the funds

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[2] H. Rausch, (2007) 'The Nation as a Community Born of War? Symbolic Strategies and Popular Reception of Public Statues in Late Nineteenth-Century Western European Capitals,' *European History Review* 14.
[3] J.E. Cookson, (2004) 'The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues: Early Nineteenth-Century Unionist Nationalism as a Tory Project,' *SHR* 83.
[4] E.V. Macleod, (2004) 'Erskine, David Steuart, eleventh earl of Buchan (1742–1829),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8852.
[5] Macleod, 'Erskine, David Steuart,' *ODNB*.
[6] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, 254.
[7] Macleod, 'Erskine, David Steuart,' *ODNB*.

to purchase the society's first home, in the Cowgate in Edinburgh.[8] Though the Society is still active today, Buchan's relationship with it ended just ten years after it was founded. Following a series of disagreements about the future of the society, and the selling of the Cowgate building at a loss, he was encouraged to resign from the society.[9] One of Buchan's less-popular plans for the society was his 'Caledonian Temple of Fame,' which would act as a shrine for important Scots, including Wallace and Bruce.[10] Following his departure from the society he developed the idea as a solo venture. This was never fully realised during Buchan's life but several decades after his death it became the foundation collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

The building on Queen Street was constructed between 1885 and 1890. John Ritchie Findlay, the owner of *The Scotsman* and funder for the project, and Rowand Anderson, the architect, envisaged that the building would be a 'tribute to Scotland's heroes.'[11] Duncan Thomson, Keeper of the Gallery from 1982 to 1997, has said 'the Portrait Gallery building was an emphatic statement of national aspiration, or looking forward on the strength of looking back.'[12] This is a fair way to characterize much of the use of Scottish history in the latter years of the nineteenth century – using the past as a means of solidifying the place of the Scottish nation in the future – so it follows that the building would be built on similar ideological foundations. Thomson goes on to say these ideals were illustrated through 'traditional' commemorative means, namely the statues that decorate the exterior of the building and the murals decorating the interior central hall.[13] The Portrait Gallery officially opened in 1889 before any of the external statues had been placed or the internal murals even conceived of.

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[8] Macleod, 'Erskine, David Steuart,' *ODNB*.
[9] Macleod, 'Erskine, David Steuart,' *ODNB*.
[10] 'Erskine, David Steuart, eleventh Earl of Buchan (1742–1829),' *Dictionary of National Biography* archive, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-8852.
[11] National Galleries Scotland, 'About the Portrait Gallery,' accessed 15 November 2016, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/visit/about-the-portrait-gallery/.
[12] D. Thomson, (2011) *A History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland), 45.
[13] Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery,* 45.

However, the ultimate goal of celebrating heroes of Scottish history was clear on that occasion. In his speech at the ceremony, Lord Lothian, the patriotic Unionist Secretary for Scotland, said 'there was no better incentive to patriotism than knowledge of what had gone before.'[14] Buchan did not live to see his Caledonian Temple of Fame become part of the Portrait Gallery, but the speeches at the opening ceremony did mention his involvement and it was claimed that Buchan and Lord Hailes 'discussed the possibility of setting up a National Portrait Gallery for Scotland.'[15]

The exterior of the building is decorated with statues of figures from Scottish history.[16] The statues were initially conceived by William Birnie Rhind from 1891 to 1893, though multiple sculptors became involved in the process.[17] Rhind was an Edinburgh-based sculptor who is now perhaps best remembered for the monument to the Black Watch soldiers from the South African War on the Mound and the Royal Scots Greys monument in Princes Street Gardens, both in Edinburgh and both built in the early twentieth century, after the completion of the statues on the Portrait Gallery. There does not appear to be a lot of consistency in regard to who was chosen to be memorialised in statue form, though literary and monarchical figures are the most popular. In terms of figures from the Wars of Independence there are four represented amongst the statues. Wallace and Bruce appear as large figures flanking the main entrance doors 'like household gods' [Figure 3.1].[18] These two statues are clearly the most preferred amongst all of those on the exterior, as they are the largest and were given the most prominent position. Sir James Douglas, who took Bruce's heart on Crusade following his death, is also featured. He is situated directly to the right of Bruce, displaying their close relationship [Figure 3.2]. The final figure portrayed is King Alexander III, who is often said to be shown 'refusing to pay homage to the English king,' as evidenced by his stubborn facial expression,

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[14] 'The Scottish National Portrait Gallery,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 16 Jul 1889.
[15] 'The Scottish National Portrait Gallery,' 16 Jul 1889.
[16] H. Smailes, (1985) *A Portrait Gallery for Scotland*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland), 45.
[17] Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery,* 47.
[18] Smailes, *Portrait Gallery*, 45.

though there is no evidence that this was the sculptor's motivation or, indeed, that his facial expression is particularly stubborn [Figure 3.3].[19] Both the inclusion and placement of these figures may indicate who was most popular amongst the public in this period, particularly as the statues are not labelled in anyway. This suggests that the majority of people would have known who the figures were based on their iconography. The inclusion of Douglas is particularly noteworthy, given the lack of other commemorations to him that are seen in this thesis. Clearly his story was known, though he was not often commemorated.

Figure 3.1: Wallace (left) and Bruce statues, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (author)

[19] Smailes, *Portrait Gallery*, 45.

Figure 3.2: Bruce and Douglas statues, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (author)

Figure 3.3: Alexander III statue, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (author)

Authenticity was a central concern for both the interior and exterior of the Gallery, and the costumes for Wallace and Bruce were approved by the history painter Joseph Noël Paton. Though Paton did not specialize in medieval painting, he created a number of commemorations focused on the Wars of Independence, including a stained glass window at Dunfermline Abbey that will be discussed in the following section, and the original design of the National Wallace Monument, which will be discussed in the stained glass section of this chapter. It seems likely this earlier involvement with commemorations of the Wars of Independence was the reasoning behind his eligibility in assessing the accuracy of these statues of Wallace and Bruce. When considering the statues covering the façade of the building, it is clear that the goal of highlighting Scotland's heroes for the public was accomplished, in that the statues provide a striking sight while approaching the building. It is also noteworthy that all of the statues portray men, suggesting this was a prerequisite for being a hero of Scottish history.

The second example is from Stirling, an area that has the highest concentration of commemorations to the Wars. This volume of monuments illustrates historic locality, as it reflects the high number of crucial events from the Wars that occurred in the Stirling area. Above the door to the Athenaeum building on King Street there is a small statue of Wallace known as the 'Wee Wallace' [Figure 3.4]. It was created by Handyside Ritchie of Edinburgh and it took two years to sculpt.[20] The statue was not built to be placed on the Athenaeum building. It was brought to London for the Great Exhibition in 1851, after which it was taken to Glasgow and sold to W. Drummond.[21] That the statue was originally displayed in London suggests some interest in his story in England during this period, though it is unclear in what manner the statue was displayed – with other figures of Scottish history or other medieval heroes. Ultimately, however, the statue returned to Scotland and at some point over the intervening years it was either sold or given to the town of Stirling by

[20] 'Provincial,' *Inverness Courier* (Inverness), 20 May 1853.
[21] 'Provincial,' 20 May 1853.

Drummond.[22] By that time the site for the National Wallace Monument on Abbey Craig had already been decided, though it was not yet built, and there was much debate about where the 'Wee Wallace' should be placed so it did not interfere with the Wallace Monument but also would be 'seen to advantage.'[23] A location was selected near the railway station and there was also discussion about placing it in Victoria Park.[24] Instead a plan was brought forward to build a porch on the existing Athenaeum building, built between 1816 and 1817.[25] A committee was formed in support of this plan, and they began a subscription campaign for a 'small sum which is required in order to the erection of the statue on a basement and in a situation both worthy of it.'[26] It was unveiled on the evening of 1 December 1859 'by torchlight.'[27] The structure, or porch, that supported it featured an engraving over the arches that said 'Wallace', 'Loyalty', and 'Liberty'.[28] The following year two lamps were added to the structure that were made to look like Scottish thistles.[29] It is noteworthy that the statue itself was accompanied by this decoration that both reinforces the Scottish connection, with the thistles, but also suggests how Wallace should be remembered, as someone who fought for loyalty and liberty. Unlike the statues at the Portrait Gallery, this statue is also labelled, perhaps indicating the committee was concerned with recognition of the statue.

[22] 'Miscellaneous News,' *The Sussex Advertiser, Surrey Gazette and West Kent Courier* (Lewes), 6 Dec 1859.
[23] 'Local News,' *Stirling Observer* (Stirling), 5 Aug 1858.
[24] 'Local News,' 5 Aug 1858.
[25] 'Provincial,' 20 May 1853.
[26] 'Local News,' 5 Aug 1858.
[27] 'Miscellaneous News,' 6 Dec 1859.
[28] 'Local News,' *The Stirling Observer* (Stirling), 25 Oct 1860.
[29] 'Local News,' 25 Oct 1860.

Figure 3.4: Wee Wallace, The Athenaeum, Stirling (Geograph)

During the discussions about how to best display the 'Wee Wallace' it is clear how strongly the importance of locality was felt. An article in the *Stirling Observer* in 1858 outlined some of the pros and cons of suggested placements for the statue but said 'on one point, we believe all are agreed – that the statue ought to be placed in such a position as closely to connect it with the municipality, and to identify it with the place.'[30] The article goes on to say that while the site on Abbey Craig had already been chosen, 'without a *burghal* [*sic*] monument in Stirling…something like disgrace would be reflected on the inhabitants.' [31] This suggests that some people in Stirling did not feel the proposed national monument on Abbey Craig would represent the city itself. People still wanted to have their own local monument in the centre of the city and the 'Wee Wallace' became seen as the way to accomplish this. This is an example of municipal locality as the statue was being used to show the town's specific allegiance to Wallace, despite the other commemorations surrounding

[30] 'The Wallace Statue,' *Stirling Observer* (Stirling), 20 May 1858.
[31] 'The Wallace Statue,' 20 May 1858.

the town. It is interesting that a building was ultimately decided as the best location for the statue. From the newspaper records it seems this decision was arrived at because it was seen as the most visible place for the statue to be. Ironically it is now one of the less remembered statues of Wallace. By having the statue as an adornment to a building, it perhaps lost some of the status it may have had as a stand-alone monument. Perhaps this explains the added decoration on the porch that supports the statue, that they were a way of bringing gravitas to the statue. If this was the goal, it was ultimately unsuccessful.

There are four further examples of statues being installed on building exteriors. The first was a Wallace statue possibly installed in Ayr in 1819 on the building where Wallace was allegedly born.[32] If this statue is still in existence, its current whereabouts are unknown. The second Wallace statue, by Robert Forrest, was placed on the front of St Nicholas Parish Church in Lanark in 1882 [Figure 3.5]. This was Forrest's first public work, but it was well-received and launched his career as 'Scotland's "national sculptor."'[33] He would go on to sculpt the statue of Viscount Melville that stands atop the column in St Andrews Square in Edinburgh and the John Knox statue at the Glasgow Necropolis. This is also the first of three statues that were placed during the 1880s, the decade identified in the previous chapter as the high point in terms of number of commemorations dedicated to the Wars of Independence. The next statue, also of Wallace, was installed on the National Wallace Monument in 1887 [Figure 3.6]. This bronze statue overlooks the site of the Battle of Stirling Bridge and Wallace is shown wearing armour and holding his sword aloft, 'as if in the act of

[32] L. Eriksonas, (2004) *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang), 145. The history of this statue is somewhat unclear, and it has also been suggested it was built in 1810 and was not placed on the house. It does not appear to be known if these were separate statues or indeed what became of them.

[33] In 1832 he began a series of equestrian statues of historical figures, including Bruce, which were displayed on Calton Hill in Edinburgh, though this turned into a financial failure for Forrest. L.A. Fagan, (2004) 'Forrest, Robert,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9888.

summoning his followers to the charge.'[34] It was sculpted by D.W. Stevenson, who also sculpted a number of other statues of famous Scottish historical figures including several of those on the façade of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[35] It would appear that this statue was added to the existing monument because of the popularity of the Wars during this period. A similar event occurred during a peak in interest for Wallace following the release of the film *Braveheart*, when a new statue portraying the Wallace from the film was installed in front of the National Wallace Monument, though it has since been removed. There will be subsequent examples of a spike in interest in a figure leading to further acts of commemoration. There is also one further statue of Bruce, which was placed on St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh in 1884 [Figure 3.7], so during the same decade of high levels of commemoration. It was sculpted by John Rhind, the father of William Birnie Rhind, who was responsible for the statues on the exterior of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[36] The statue is recognisable as Bruce in large part because of the axe accompanying him, which again illustrates the role of iconography in statue-building. It seems clear that these signs were needed for recognition of these figures when there is no clear concept of what they looked like in life. The role of iconography will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

[34] W. Middleton, (1909) *Guide to the National Wallace Monument* (Stirling: W. Middleton), 14.
[35] J.L. Caw, (2004) 'Stevenson, David Watson,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36287.
[36] St Giles Cathedral website, 'The Pulpit,' accessed 8 December 2017, http://www.stgilescathedral.org.uk/pulpit/.

Figure 3.5: Wallace statue, St Nicholas Parish Church, Lanark (Geograph)

Figure 3.6: Wallace statue, National Wallace Monument, Stirling (Geograph)

Figure 3.7: Bruce statue, St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh (Geograph)

Looking at all of the examples from this section as a whole, there are some interesting comparisons. Wallace has five statues depicting him, while Bruce is only featured in two. This is likely because they were all commissioned towards the end of the nineteenth century, a period when Wallace was enjoying a particular popularity. There are, however, differences in how the statues came to be placed on the buildings. The ones at the Portrait Gallery were planned to be in that location, whereas the 'Wee Wallace' travelled to several locations before the instalment on the Athenaeum. The Portrait Gallery and the exterior of St Giles also showcase a number of figures from Scottish history, whereas the other examples stand alone.

The tendency to place statues on buildings is somewhat unusual when considering wider commemorative practices. Statues in Scotland during this period, both those from the Wars of Independence and from other conflicts, tended to be placed on columns or as stand-alone features. This phenomenon appears to have occurred in this case largely for decorative purposes, as can be seen with the Portrait Gallery and St Giles Cathedral. It was also used as a way to add to other commemorations, such as at the Wallace Monument, and because the statue already existed, and it was a matter of finding a location for it, as with Wee Wallace. In general, the popularity for statues indicates the popularity of medieval figures in this period, which the form of statue lends itself t.

Finally, these statues illustrate two types of locality. Historic locality is evident in the statues placed on St Nicholas Parish Church and Wallace's alleged birthplace, as these are both places thought to be associated with Wallace during his life. Municipal locality is clear in the 'Wee Wallace,' when the town of Stirling tried to show their own memorialisation of Wallace despite the other examples of commemoration, such as the National Wallace Monument, close by.

Murals

Murals gained popularity in the second half of the nineteenth century as a way to display civic commemoration. This can be a relatively broad category

of art, but in this case, murals refer to artwork that has been purposely made part of a public building, with an intention for it to remain. Or, as Clare Willsdon has said, murals are 'art with something to say.'[37] These can be either painted directly on walls or on canvas that is then installed. They are often large in scale and are designed to fill a specific space. Mural painting is one of the earliest forms of art, particularly if one considers cave drawings as mural painting. That being said, murals have fulfilled many different roles throughout history, including appearing in religious, secular, and private spaces. In Scotland, murals gained popularity during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries in both religious and secular spaces, despite the effects of the Reformation, as part of a wider architectural revival.[38] Perhaps best remembered from this time period are the decorative 'painted ceilings,' which featured paintings on wooden boards that were then installed on the ceiling in the homes of a number of wealthy families.[39] Michael Bath has shown how heraldic painting in murals was popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[40] This use of heraldry to evoke the past will be seen in several of the following case studies.

Interest in public murals in Britain in the nineteenth century is often attributed to a mural scheme at the new palace of Westminster in the mid-nineteenth century, which was intended to inspire other municipal bodies to consider murals as civic decoration.[41] The concept of decorating civic buildings in this way was popular with art critic John Ruskin, who called for 'intellectual intention' with civic murals.[42] Therefore, the decision to decorate the interior of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery with murals in the last decade of the nineteenth century was not entirely surprising because 'it had become a standard expression of civic pride or enlightened private patronage.'[43] There are also examples of nineteenth-century public murals painted in the Hospital

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[37] C.A.P. Willsdon, (2000) *Mural Painting in Britain, 1840-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), ix.
[38] M. Bath, (2003) *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing).
[39] Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, 7.
[40] Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting*, 19.
[41] Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 168.
[42] Willsdon, *Mural Painting*, 171.
[43] Smailes, *Portrait Gallery*, 49.

for Sick Children in Edinburgh and in the Glasgow and Edinburgh City Chambers, which depicted events from each city's history.

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery did not originally feature a large central hall, but in 1897 it was announced that 'the lighting of the central hall…which has been defective, is to be improved by taking down a wall separating three small rooms in the front of the building from the ambulatory, and the hall will be decorated to illustrate Scottish history.'[44] The decorations were the responsibility of William Brassey Hole, an accomplished etcher but not well-known as a painter.[45] He was chosen as the design was to look 'heraldic and medieval,' something he also focused on in his illustrations.[46] Before beginning the work he took a tour of Italy and France to view medieval frescos for inspiration.[47] The decoration in the hall consists of a processional frieze and eight painted murals.

The frieze features 155 figures, which are portrayed in reverse chronological order from history writer Thomas Carlyle to a Stone Age axeman. It has perhaps been most accurately described as 'a confection of didacticism, antiquarian enthusiasm and a little artistic license.'[48] Ten of the 155 figures relate to the Wars of Independence [Figure 3.8]: King Alexander III; Margaret, Maid of Norway (granddaughter of Alexander III, whose death left the Scottish crown without an heir); Bruce of Annandale (Bruce's grandfather); Edward I; John Balliol (Scottish king chosen by Edward I); William Wallace; the Countess of Buchan (who crowned Bruce as king); Robert Bruce; James Douglas; Thomas Randolph (Bruce's nephew). There are two additional figures included in the frieze who are well-known because of the Wars of Independence though they did not live during them. John Barbour and (Blind) Hary, who are both celebrated for their later accounts of the exploits of Bruce and Wallace, respectively, are included for their literary achievements.

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[44] 'News,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 16 Apr 1897.
[45] E.S. Cumming, (2004) 'Hole, William Fergusson Brassey,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/100749.
[46] Smailes, *Portrait Gallery*, 52-53.
[47] Cumming, 'Hole,' *ODNB*.
[48] Smailes, *Portrait Gallery,* 55

Figure 3.8: Processional frieze, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (Rampantscotland)

There are a number of noteworthy elements of the depictions of these figures. The heraldry of the Countess of Buchan, Wallace, Bruce, and Douglas is prominent. This illustrates Hole's focus on a 'medieval' look for the figures, 'Hole's approach to these episodes in Scottish history was so carefully antiquarian that the quantity of information – on arms and costumes, for example – took them outside the realm of true history painting.'[49] Bruce, his grandfather, and Edward I are all staring directly at the viewer, which could be illustrative of the powerful nature of these men. In contrast, Balliol is turned away slightly, and his stance suggests he may be swearing fealty to Edward. This alludes to his reputation as a puppet-king of Scotland under Edward I. Not present is Edward's son, Edward II, who was alive for the majority of the war and fought Bruce at the Battle of Bannockburn. Edward II was not as strong a king as his father, and he is often not remembered particularly favourably. The weaponry shown is interesting as well. Bruce has an axe, referencing the story of him killing Henry de Bohun with one stroke of an axe at the beginning of the Battle of Bannockburn. Wallace is in possession of a longsword, which he is nearly always portrayed with.[50] It is clear this procession not only illustrates figures from Scottish history, but also alludes to some of the important stories associated with them, such as Bruce's axe or Balliol's stance. The way the figures

[49] Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, 58.
[50] A case study of the depictions of Wallace with a longsword is included in Chapter Five.

are portrayed gives some sense of their place within Scottish history. This also illustrates how the frieze may have been used to reinforce some of the iconography of these figures for the public. The figures are labelled in the frieze, so Bruce does not need to be shown with the axe or Wallace with his longsword. However, once people saw the frieze it would then be immediately clear to them who the figures that flanked the main door and held the same weapons were.

On the first floor of the Central Hall are the historical murals by Hole. The original plans featured seventeen murals decorating the interior of the gallery, covering the period from Columba to Charles Edward Stuart, but only eight of these were produced.[51] Of these, six are historical and two are allegorical. The six historical murals are *The Mission of St Columba*, *The Landing of Queen Margaret at Queensferry*, *The Battle of Largs*, *The Good Deeds of King David I*, *The Battle of Stirling Bridge*, *The Battle of Bannockburn*, and *The Marriage of James IV*. Of these, *The Battle of Stirling Bridge* and *The Battle of Bannockburn* are both from the Wars of Independence. *The Battle of Largs* features Alexander III, though the battle occurred outside the time constraints of this thesis. Thomson has said the murals were painted to look like tapestries, 'they are subdued in colour and flat in tone, a quite deliberate strategy to ape the effect of tapestry.'[52] A small booklet about the murals was produced for the public at the time by James Caw, Director of the National Gallery, which was likely available to interested members of the public at the time.[53] Caw suggested the murals were 'a happy compromise between the rival claims of decoration and representation.'[54] This recalls the question that opened this thesis, should commemoration be concerned with accuracy or significance? Hole appears to have been attempting to accomplish both, by appealing to the public visually, but also to antiquarians for the historical elements included within them.

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[51] Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, 58.
[52] Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, 58.
[53] J.L. Caw, (1902) *Notes on the Mural Decorations in the Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, presented January 1903 by the author, quoted in Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, 59.
[54] Caw, *Notes on the Mural Decorations*, quoted in Thomson, *History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, 59.

Turning to *The Battle of Stirling Bridge* first [Figure 3.9], this is one of the smaller scenes in the collection, so the action happens vertically. One of the reasons for Wallace's success in this battle was the English army's unpreparedness to fight on the bridge, which is illustrated in the confusion present in the mural. Towards the bottom of the action men are seemingly waiting to attack those coming across the bridge, and there is also as an archer with a bow. Near the top of the painting is the bridge itself, which appears to be coming apart under the weight of the carnage on it. The scene is one of disarray. Wallace, the hero of the battle, is by no means a prominent figure. If he is depicted in the painting, he is not the focal point.

Figure 3.9: *The Battle of Stirling Bridge*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (National Galleries Scotland)

Just to the right is the immense mural of *The Battle of Bannockburn* [Figure 3.10]. Again, disarray and confusion are the central features of the mural, with different elements of the battle depicted within the wider narrative. Unlike *The Battle of Stirling Bridge*, soldiers are not the only people featured in the mural. On the lower left side of the painting there are clergymen helping some of the wounded, as well as onlookers in the background, and Stirling Castle is portrayed in the distance. In the centre section is the battle itself, with the famed pikes and schiltron formation in use. Unlike the previous mural, it is clear where the 'hero' of the battle is. On the left side of the painting, the central figure is shown wearing Bruce's heraldry and is also carrying the tell-tale axe with him [Figure 3.11]. He is not in the centre of the battle, but rather off to the side, surveying what is before him. If King Edward II is in the painting, he is not clear, as none of the figures are wearing his specific heraldry.

Figure 3.10: *The Battle of Bannockburn,* Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (author)

Figure 3.11: close-up on Bruce, *The Battle of Bannockburn*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (author)

What is perhaps most striking about these two paintings is that the battles are taking centre stage, rather than the heroes. This is possibly because the frieze is just below these murals and one had to enter through the doors flanked by the statues of Wallace and Bruce to enter the building, so they had already been well-represented to visitors before they reached the murals. The grandeur and sheer size of the paintings, however, suggest the point was to invoke a feeling of the history of Scotland. Not only are some of the key moments portrayed in the Central Hall, in the murals and the frieze, but they are flanked by portraits of important Scottish figures displayed throughout the remainder of the building.

The newspaper coverage of the unveiling of the decorations show an appreciation for Hole's apparent preoccupation with accuracy. An article announcing the completion of the frieze said 'the portraits of the personages in the procession are to a large extent authentic.'[55] An excerpt in *The Evening Telegraph* from *Ladies' Realm* revealed the frieze 'forms not only a history of

[55] 'Decoration of the National Portrait Gallery,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 14 May 1898, 13.

costume (for the artist has been scrupulous in his exactitude to archaeological accuracy) but from the age of James III up to Thomas Carlyle the likenesses are exact.'[56] From the rhetoric surrounding the decorations in the central hall, it seems that Hole's focus on accuracy helped to add legitimacy to the depictions. This also reveals how these adornments were seen as commemorative as well as decorative.

Following the completion of the murals for the Portrait Gallery Hole was commissioned to decorate the dining room of the City Chambers in Edinburgh in the first decade of the twentieth century.[57] These ten images depict important historical moments in Edinburgh's history, ranging from the signing of the National Covenant in 1638, to news of James VI's accession to the English throne in 1603, to Queen Mary's state entrance into the city in 1561. This is another example of the aforementioned affinity for decorating civic buildings with images of the local past. There is one painting that dates from the Wars of Independence, a 1907 work entitled *The Presentation of a Charter to the Burgesses of Edinburgh by King Robert the Bruce at Cardross, 1329* [Figure 3.12].

Figure 3.12: *The Presentation of a Charter to the Burgesses of Edinburgh by King Robert the Bruce at Cardross, 1329,* City Chambers, Edinburgh (artUK)

[56] 'Literary Extracts,' *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee), 8 Jun 1904.
[57] Cumming, 'Hole,' *ODNB*.

In the mural Bruce is seated with his son, the future King David II, and likely his youngest daughter, Matilda. This event is from the last year of Bruce's life, and his fatal illness is evident in his depiction. Bruce is very rarely depicted after Bannockburn, so it is unusual to see him older and infirmed. The bed in the background suggests a formal bedroom, perhaps a further allusion to his ill health. There is also a crucifix on the wall above Bruce, possibly alluding to his religiosity.[58] This collection of murals is an example of municipal locality, as the city specifically celebrated its local history through the decoration of the City Chambers.

The final mural related to the Wars of Independence from this period is rather different than the first two. The First World War memorial in Lansdowne Parish Church in Glasgow features a processional frieze as part of the design [Figure 3.13]. A committee was formed in 1919 with the aim of creating a 'suitable memorial commemorating the War.'[59] The commission appears to have gone to Evelyn Beale, a sculptor and illustrator, though there are some questions surrounding this because her name does not appear in the church records.[60] If Beale was indeed the illustrator for the frieze she is the sole female maker of a monument or memorial of the Wars of Independence from this period. The memorial was completed and unveiled in 1923.[61]

[58] This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.
[59] Four Acres Charitable Trust, (2009) 'Lansdowne Project Plan,' accessed 20 February 2017, http://www.cottiers.com/uploaded/2011/05/Lansdowne_Project1.pdf, 40; Karen Mailley-Watt initially provided the information about this mural.
[60] 'Lansdowne Project Plan,' 40.
[61] 'Lansdowne Project Plan,' 40.

Figure 3.13: Memorial frieze, Lansdowne Parish Church, Glasgow (Scotcities)

The frieze sits above wooden plaques featuring names of some of the local dead from the First World War. The centre panel features Christ surrounded by eight figures who represent different aspects of the war effort, including a solider, a nurse, and a pilot. The two panels flanking it depict kneeling figures, from left to right, Wallace, John Knox, St Columba, St Paul, St Andrew, St Margaret, St Mungo, and Bruce. National saints St Andrew, St Margaret and St Columba are present, as is the patron saint of Glasgow, St Mungo. John Knox strengthens the Protestant iconography in the mural. Wallace and Bruce, unlike the rest of the figures, are not shown for their religiosity, but rather their militarism. Their status as soldiers is linked to those shown in the centre panel, and they are bowing to them in these depictions. They are shown to represent the tradition of Scottish militarism, which, as has already been mentioned, was very influential during and following the First World War. Indeed, they appear ready for battle as both are wearing armour and carrying weapons – Wallace a longsword and Bruce an axe. Despite carrying their tell-tale weapons both men are also labelled, perhaps suggesting they were not as

immediately recognisable in the early twentieth century than they were in the late nineteenth. Both men are also flanked by a shield featuring the lion rampant, showing their connection to the Scottish crown.

It is also clear that murals dedicated to the Wars of Independence tended to follow what was typical for murals at the time; they were used to decorate civic buildings, local events were often portrayed, and heraldry was a common feature. The use of the mural for the First World War memorial also shows another use, where the mural was not reinforcing local history but rather tying contemporary Scottish soldiers to historical heroes of war, as will be seen throughout this thesis.

Overall, murals fill a liminal space between art and monuments. They are decorative, though they are not created solely for that purpose. They are often painted, but they are also generally immobile as they are painted directly onto the buildings they reside in, unlike traditional paintings. These murals also differ from some paintings as they were placed in public places, and clearly created to be viewed by large numbers of people. That being said, there were still class divisions in terms of who could view the murals, particularly the mural in the dining room of the City Chambers, which required an invitation to dinner to view. It is unlikely that a majority of people received such an invitation.

Stained Glass

The next type of commemorative act also falls somewhere between decoration and commemoration. Isobel Armstrong has argued the nineteenth century was an 'era of public glass.'[62] Stained glass underwent a renaissance during this period in both Europe and North America, so it was in a prime position to enter the wider commemorative trends of the period. Stained glass was more widely available because of improvements in manufacturing, which

[62] I. Armstrong, (2008) *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass culture and the imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1.

meant mass-producing glass was much less expensive than it had been previously.[63] Makers in the early-nineteenth century were particularly interested in heraldry, which will feature in several of the subsequent examples.[64] This was part of the medieval-style that was popular in the new-build Neo-Gothic churches.[65] The mid-nineteenth century saw the rise of professional companies producing stained glass art for public spaces, which were paid for through subscription campaigns and donations from wealthy individuals.[66] The 1850s is pointed to as a particularly important moment in the history of stained glass in Britain, as the Great Exhibition in London featured glass both in the design of the pavilion and on display.[67] Glass also expanded beyond its traditional role as ecclesiastical decoration to civic and domestic spaces.[68]

In Scotland, interest in stained glass re-emerged in the nineteenth century, which dovetailed with the growing interest in the Wars of Independence in the same period. The return of stained glass, and most glass decoration in general, came relatively late to Scotland due to the stance of the Kirk. Nearly 250 years after the Reformation, and even after decorative glass began to appear in private homes, the Church remained 'doctrinally opposed.'[69] According to Michael Donnelly, the push for change came from Episcopalians 'who, shielded by their status and position, could afford to ignore the displeasure of the Kirk by building and adorning private chapels on their estates.'[70] The Kirk's stance changed following the Disruption of 1843, when new churches were built that incorporated stained glass into the design – though Free Church buildings tended to still be austere.[71] At the same time,

[63] Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds*, 1.
[64] R. Rosewell, (2012) *Stained Glass* (Oxford: Shire Library), 65.
[65] Rosewell, *Stained Glass*, 66.
[66] Rosewell, *Stained Glass*, 65.
[67] Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds*, 14.
[68] J. Allen, (2012) 'Stained Glass and the Culture of the Spectacle, 1780–1862,' *Visual Culture in Britain* 13:1, 2
[69] M. Donnelly, (1997) *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing* (Edinburgh: The Stationary Office), 18.
[70] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 17.
[71] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 25.

celebrated glass maker James Ballantine published the first modern Scottish book on stained glass in 1845, *A Treatise on Painted Glass*.[72]

An article from 1885 illustrates many of the trends that could be seen in stained glass during this period. It was written in America but shows similar trends to what occurred in Britain. Roger Riordan begins by pointing out that only recently had the term 'stained glass' come into public use, 'at that time what was called stained glass was to be seen only in a few churches…now, everybody is familiar with the appearance of real stained glass.'[73] He said it could be seen in 'doors, windows and skylights of private houses, as well as in churches and other public buildings.'[74] Riordan also mentions heraldry as a popular feature of stained glass, though he is clear about who should incorporate it into their home, 'if one belongs to a family which, in Europe, is entitled to heraldic distinction, one may, not too conspicuously, use crest or coat-of-arms to ornament his door-light.'[75] He also discusses stained glass in church windows, saying they are 'in most cases memorial windows.'[76] Vernacular stained glass, the use of heraldry, and memorial windows are all trends that will be seen in the subsequent examples of public stained glass memorials.

The first example features Margaret, Maid of Norway and it is one of two commemorative acts dedicated to her in this thesis; she was also represented in the frieze at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. She was the granddaughter of King Alexander III, and his sole heir after his death in 1286. Margaret was the daughter of King Eric II of Norway and Margaret, Alexander's daughter. On her way to Scotland for her coronation at the age of seven, she died of complications from seasickness in Orkney, setting off the succession crisis that characterised the first part of the Wars of Independence.[77] There is a stained glass depiction of Margaret in Shetland's Lerwick Town Hall, which is known for a series of

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[72] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 18.
[73] R. Riordan, (1885) 'The Use of Stained Glass,' *The Art Amateur* 12: 6, 130.
[74] Riordan, 'Use of Stained Glass,' 130.
[75] Riordan, 'Use of Stained Glass,' 130-131.
[76] Riordan, 'Use of Stained Glass,' 132.
[77] Shetland Islands Council, 'The Oriel Window', accessed 1 February 2017, http://www.shetland.gov.uk/Lerwick-Town-Hall/Oriel-Window.asp.

stained glass windows that were created in 1883. Prominent members of the community and a variety of community groups sponsored different windows, and they were subsequently created by a number of different companies. For example, James Ballantine's company, who was mentioned above as the author of Scotland's first modern stained glass text, created several windows 'illustrative of events in the history of the northern islands.'[78]

The three-paned window incorporating Margaret is titled the Oriel Window [Figure 3.14]. The central panel, which depicts Margaret, was paid for by The Commissioners of Supply of the county.[79] Margaret is shown holding a crown and a shield. Above her, in Latin, it says 'Margaret, queen of Scotland and daughter of Norway.' There are also prominent white roses in the motif above her, possibly indicating her betrothal to the future King Edward II, a marriage which may have united the crowns in the fourteenth century. There are also two figures flanking her, and those windows were paid for by an anonymous female donor.[80] The figure to her left is Saint Olaf, King of Norway in the eleventh century.[81] To the right is Rohnvald Brusisson, who became joint Earl of Orkney in 1035.[82] The *Shetland Times* reported that several of the windows were put on display for the public prior to installation, and that they 'have been much admired by all who have seen them.'[83] It is unclear, however, if the Oriel Window was included in this display.

[78] 'Town Hall Decorations,' *Shetland Times* (Lerwick), 7 Jul 1883.
[79] 'New Town Hall Decoration,' *Shetland Times* (Lerwick), 5 Aug 1882.
[80] 'Town Hall Decorations,' 30 Jun 1883.
[81] 'Town Hall Decorations,' 30 Jun 1883.
[82] 'Town Hall Decorations,' 30 Jun 1883.
[83] 'Town Hall Decorations,' 30 Jun 1883.

Figure 3.14: Oriel Window, Town Hall, Lerwick (Shetland Islands Council)

This portrayal of Margaret reveals how Orkney and Shetland point to different cultural touchstones than the rest of Scotland. There is no mention of Wallace or Bruce or even Alexander III because none of them played significant roles in the history of the area, so they would not have delivered the same meaning as commemorations to them did in mainland Scotland. Margaret is instead portrayed with heroes of Norwegian history, further illustrating the importance of local connections in the role of commemoration. In addition to the Oriel Window, and the accompanying windows featuring the two Scandinavian figures, Lerwick Town Hall also has fifteen other decorative windows, showcasing Shetland's medieval history and also indicating important former trade relationships.[84] This is another example of municipal locality, since the people of Lerwick were commemorating figures that were important from its history, rather than including the heroes of the wider conflict. This is also an

[84] Shetland Islands Council, 'Windows,' accessed 1 February 2017, http://www.shetland.gov.uk/lerwick-town-hall/windows.asp.

example of how the public's opinion could be considered in creating acts of commemoration. Some of the windows were placed on public display, and the *Shetland Times* noted that community members were pleased with the windows. It is unclear whether there was a public subscription campaign for any of the windows, or if they were all paid for by wealthy donors or groups, but the public was still allowed a role in the process. Allowing the public to see designs or examples of commemorative acts before they are complete was also common in the building of monuments, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

The next example of stained glass also occurs alongside other commemorations, and dates from 1884 in Dunfermline. Andrew Carnegie's generous donations to many towns in Scotland, particularly his hometown of Dunfermline, are well known and include several libraries, institutions, foundations, and a swimming pool.[85] It is perhaps less known that he donated part of the money for a stained-glass window to be installed in Dunfermline Abbey Church [Figure 3.15]. It was first reported in 1881 that Carnegie 'intimated his desire that the Crown should permit him to fill the large west window of the Abbey Church with stained glass.'[86] In 1883 he contributed the £2000 design fee to pay Joseph Noël Paton, who has already been mentioned because he contributed his knowledge about the authenticity of the costumes for the Wallace and Bruce statues at the entrance to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[87] Paton was also a native of Dunfermline, which the *Dunfermline Press* was careful to point out.[88] Carnegie and Paton's connections to the location of the commemorative act are the first examples of personal locality in this thesis, in that their own connections to an area are part of the impetus for commemoration. It is also noteworthy that these personal

[85] G. Tweedale, (2004) 'Carnegie, Andrew (1835–1919),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32296.
[86] 'New Stained Glass Window for Dunfermline Abbey,' *Dunfermline Journal* (Dunfermline), 6 August 1881.
[87] 'The Stained Glass Window in the Old Abbey,' *Dunfermline Press* (Dunfermline), 6 October 1883, 2.
[88] 'The Stained Glass Window in the Old Abbey,' 6 October 1883.

connections were highlighted in the press, suggesting this was important to the public.

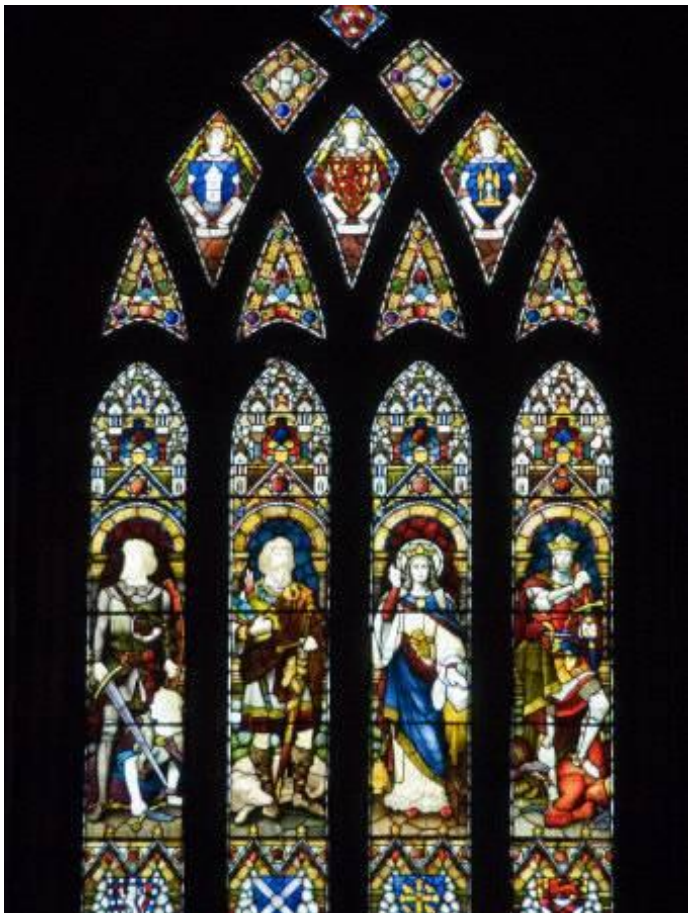

Figure 3.15: Window, Dunfermline Abbey, Dunfermline (left to right: Wallace, Malcolm, St Margaret, Bruce) (art.com)

James Ballantine's company, Ballantine & Sons, was responsible for the creation of this window. The design was intended 'to illustrate the close connection which the Abbey has with certain prominently marked periods in Scottish history.'[89] The central figures are King Malcolm III and St Margaret, and Wallace and Bruce flank them, which were described by the *Dunfermline Press* at the time as the 'figures of Wallace – the heroic champion of Scottish liberty – and of Robert the Bruce, the popular king who completed the nation's independence.'[90] This language of Bruce finishing what Wallace began is an

[89] 'Mr Carnegie's Window in the Abbey,' *Dunfermline Saturday Press* (Dunfermline), 14 June 1884.
[90] 'Mr Carnegie's Window in the Abbey,' 14 June 1884.

example of how the relationship between these two men is often framed – that Wallace was the original hero of Scottish freedom and eventually passed that torch to Bruce. This narrative will appear many times in this thesis. In reality, it is not entirely clear whether the two even met, how much inspiration Bruce took from Wallace, or what he even knew about Wallace. However, what is important to this thesis is that many thought such a connection existed between Wallace and Bruce, which made it almost logical for Wallace to be included in many commemorations of battles and events that occurred long after his death. This is the case with the window in Dunfermline. The inclusion of Malcolm, Margaret and Bruce is unsurprising, as all three are thought to be buried in the abbey, but the *Dunfermline Saturday Press* justified Wallace's inclusion by saying 'though the great Wallace found no resting place here, tradition strongly asserts that his mother's grave is situated at a well-known spot in the ancient "God's Acre" to the north of the church.'[91] Since Wallace is from a relatively low noble family, how true such a tradition could be is difficult to say, but it seems very unlikely.

The depictions of Bruce and Wallace in the window are described by the *Dunfermline Saturday Press* as,

> Robert the Bruce – his foot firmly pressing down a defeated symbolical monster, the embodiment of oppression and tyranny – sheathes his victorious sword; while the young, but careworn, Wallace, who so well prepared the glorious path for his royal brother-conqueror is in the act of defending a prostrate female form, representing the fallen Scotland he did so much to exhort and restore.[92]

Again, the narrative is of Wallace paving the 'glorious path' for Bruce. Both men are also shown with other figures. Bruce is standing on a 'symbolical monster,' while Wallace is shown with a distressed female figure who represents Scotland. This helps reinforce the image of Wallace and Bruce as the ideal military heroes, defeating their enemies and defending their country. Heraldry also features prominently in the window, with the requisite coat of arms under each figure, as

[91] 'Mr Carnegie's Window in the Abbey,' 14 June 1884.
[92] 'Mr Carnegie's Window in the Abbey,' 14 June 1884.

well as the shields of the burgh, the abbey, and the Royal Arms of Scotland above.[93]

At the public unveiling on 20 June 1884, a letter from Carnegie was read aloud.[94] At one point he discussed the inclusion of Bruce and Wallace. Of Bruce he says, 'you have "The Bruce" after repelling foreign aggression, sheathing his victorious sword.'[95] Carnegie's praise for Wallace is much longer. He suggested Wallace was 'a character which realises our loftiest ideal of patriotism – it is in him, I trust, that, as I did in my youth, the young men of my native town will find their true hero.'[96] Despite Wallace having no clear connection to the area, he is the focus of Carnegie's letter. This reveals Carnegie's personal preference for Wallace. In this thesis there will be several other examples of Carnegie donating money to commemorations of Wallace, including the crown that was placed on top of the Wallace Monument.[97] This window is the only time Bruce is included in a commemoration to which Carnegie donated money. Carnegie's preference for Wallace likely stems from his personal identification as a self-made man, which is also how he saw Wallace. In his *The Gospel of Wealth*, Carnegie describes how proud he was to receive his first wages, 'many millions of dollars have since passed through my hands. But the genuine satisfaction I had from that one dollar and twenty cents outweighs any subsequent pleasure in money-getting.'[98] Carnegie also promoted this attitude when discussing charity, saying 'the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves.'[99] Carnegie's aversion to Bruce was made clear when he did not donate to a subscription campaign for a statue of Bruce that was planned for Dunfermline in 1904, saying in his memoirs that 'a king is an insult to every other man of the land.'[100]

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[93] 'Mr Carnegie's Window in the Abbey,' 14 June 1884.
[94] 'Mr. Carnegie's Latest Gift to Dunfermline,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 20 Jun 1884.
[95] 'Mr. Carnegie's Latest Gift to Dunfermline,' 20 Jun 1884.
[96] 'Mr. Carnegie's Latest Gift to Dunfermline,' 20 Jun 1884.
[97] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s.'
[98] A. Carnegie, (1962) *The Gospel of Wealth: and other timely essays*, ed. E.C. Kirkland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 4.
[99] Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, 27.
[100] A. Carnegie, (1920) *Autobiography* (London: Houghton Mifflin), 18, 367, quoted in Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 49.

The Dunfermline Abbey stained glass window displays personal locality. Both Carnegie and Paton, the funder and the designer, were from Dunfermline, which was stressed throughout the newspaper coverage. Carnegie specifically referenced his childhood in his 'native town' in the last line of the letter that was read aloud at the unveiling of the window. There is also a suggestion of the importance of historic locality, as it had to be explained why Wallace could also be included in the window since he did not have a clear connection to Dunfermline, unlike the other three figures in the window. The fact that Wallace was included despite the rather tenuous connection, however, reveals that this connection did not need to be strong. The window was also created during the 1880s, so is also illustrative of the general high point in popularity for the figures of Wallace and Bruce. It is also possible that Wallace was thus included also because the two figures were generally seen together in this period, so it did not appear odd to have him there, despite the lack of a local connection. Either way, there is no indication in newspapers that there was any public outcry about the inclusion of Wallace.

The next examples were installed just one year later, and Ballantine & Sons was also responsible for the windows installed in the National Wallace Monument. The monument is by far the best studied commemorative act dedicated to the Wars of Independence, but a very brief background is still worthwhile prior to discussion of the windows.[101] The group initially responsible for the idea of building a national memorial to Wallace was the short-lived National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR), which was active from 1853 to 1856, and was created to address concerns over Scotland's lack of power at Westminster.[102] This group brought people together

[101] See: H.E. Smailes, (2014) 'A Pride of Lions: Noel Paton and the National Wallace Monument,' *Architectural Heritage* 25; A. Ross, (2004) 'Wallace's Monument and the Resumption of Scotland,' in *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space*, ed. D.J. Walkowitz and L.M. Knauer (Durham: Duke University Press); E.J. Cowan, ed., (2007) *The Wallace Book* (Edinburgh: Birlinn); C. Rogers, (1860) *The National Wallace Monument* (Edinburgh: Menzies).

[102] L. Andersson Burnett and A.G. Newby, (2007) '"Unionist Nationalism" and the National Museum of Scotland, c. 1847-1866,' in *Making National Museums: Setting the Frames*, ed. P. Aronsson and M. Hillström (Linköping: Linköping University Press), 91.

from across the political spectrum.[103] They campaigned for more local powers to be given to towns and cities as a means of safeguarding Scottish autonomy.[104] Morton has argued the NAVSR 'were filling a gap where no political organisation existed to mobilise Scotland's patriotism.'[105] The message was that Scotland was a nation that had freely entered into the union, but without balance, this union would fail.[106] In contrast, when discussing the NAVSR, H.J. Hanham focused on the role they had in the building of the National Wallace Monument in Stirling.[107] Hanham says the monument was important in the history of Scottish nationalism because 'it symbolized the aspirations of Scottish patriots much better than the long list of miscellaneous grievances [upon which the group was based], which James Grant had drawn up for the Society.'[108] Morton has described Hanham's view of the NAVSR as 'romantic and radical.'[109] By comparing the NAVSR with other European assertions of nationalism at the time, Morton ultimately argues against the traditional view that it was a failure, due to its relatively short tenure and inability to become a parliamentary movement.[110] Though the NAVSR only lasted as a semi-cohesive group for three years, politically its influence was felt for much longer than these dates suggest.[111]

Following the dissolution of the NAVSR the design of the monument also changed. As mentioned above, the original design was by Paton, who also designed the stained glass window in Dunfermline, which featured 'a lion bent over a prostrate figure, whose body terminates in the coil of a serpent, the right hand grasping a broken sword, and the left a broken chain.'[112] This design was deemed too controversial in the climate of unionist-nationalism, however.[113]

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[103] Andersson Burnett and Newby, ''Unionist Nationalism' and the National Museum,' 91.
[104] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' 235.
[105] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' 241.
[106] Morton, 'Scotland, 1770s-1880s,' 241.
[107] H.J. Hanham, (1969) *Scottish Nationalism* (London: Faber), 77-78.
[108] Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, 78.
[109] G. Morton, (1996) 'Scottish Rights and "Centralisation" in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,' *Nations and Nationalism* 2:2, 258.
[110] Morton, 'Scottish Rights,' 258.
[111] Ash, *Strange Death*, 144.
[112] 'Sayings and Doings,' *Illustrated Times* (London), 26 Feb 1859.
[113] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 45.

The foundation stone of the new monument design was laid on 24 June 1861, the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[114] This once again illustrates how the memorialisation of Wallace and Bruce regularly blended together, as Wallace was not present at the battle because he had been executed nearly a decade earlier. The monument opened in 1869 following nearly a decade of disagreements and financial problems. One of the reasons for such a lengthy building process was the political nature of the campaign. Two groups saw themselves as in control of the campaign, with the Whig 'moderate' party on one side and the more 'radical' Tory party, which included prior members of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights.[115] Though both groups supported the endeavour, they each wanted to be seen as responsible for it.[116]

A number of stained glass windows were added to the structure in 1885. There are three different areas of stained glass, and eleven windows in all. The first window, on the ground floor, depicts the Honours of Scotland surrounded by symbols such as unicorns, the Lion Rampant and a saltire cross, though it does not overtly show any symbols associated with the Wars of Independence.[117] An exhibition telling the story of Wallace's life is located on the first floor. This is accompanied by stained glass windows depicting the arms of Great Britain, Scotland, Stirling, and Wallace himself.[118] Again, the windows do not directly concern the events of the Wars. Finally, on the second floor there are four windows in the Hall of Heroes. The Hall features sixteen busts of notable Scots, including Bruce, rather like Buchan's original plan for a Temple of Caledonian Fame. The windows in the Hall of Heroes feature Wallace, Bruce, and two medieval warriors, a spearman and an archer [Figure 3.16].[119] Historical accuracy again appears to be a priority, and a guide from 1909 suggests the windows 'exhibit carefully studied representations of the clothing

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[114] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 45.
[115] Rodger, *Hero Building,* 103.
[116] Ross, 'Wallace's Monument,' 87.
[117] The National Wallace Monument, 'Stained Glass Windows,' accessed 31 January 2017, http://www.nationalwallacemonument.com/the-monument/stained-glass-windows/.
[118] The National Wallace Monument, 'Stained Glass Windows.'
[119] The National Wallace Monument, 'Stained Glass Windows.'

and arms of the Scottish fighting men at the time of the War of Independence.'[120] Looking at the far-left image of Bruce first, he is depicted in full battle armour, including a shield that features the Lion Rampant on it. He also has his tell-tale axe and wears a crown, all of which clearly tell the viewer this is Bruce. The background to all of the windows is relatively plain, and Bruce is shown standing on a simple, grassy surface. In the window dedicated to Wallace the focal point is the outsized longsword he carries. This is particularly fitting as the Hall of Heroes is where the 'Wallace sword' is kept – an impossibly large sword said to have been carried by Wallace.[121] Much like Bruce, he is shown with his full armour on, including a helmet and shield. He also carries a horn with him. Again, the background is simple, and he is depicted standing on a small grassy hill. The two medieval warriors, presumably meant to be from the time of the Wars of Independence, look rather different from one another. The archer appears youthful and is clean-shaven. There is a helmet on the ground behind him. He has his bow and arrows in hand, but he is not in a ready position. The spearman, on the other hand, sports a long grey beard and appears older than the archer. He is brandishing his spear and looks battle ready, as if the enemy is just outside the frame of the window.

Figures 3.16: Windows, National Wallace Monument, Stirling (left to right: Bruce, Wallace, archer, spearman) (National Wallace Monument)

[120] Middleton, *Guide to the National Wallace Monument*, 23.
[121] This sword will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

These four windows depict many of the trends in commemoration of the Wars. The main heroes, Wallace and Bruce, are depicted in a very standard way – they are ready for battle and they have their famous weapons (a longsword and an axe, respectively). Since these windows are in the Hall of Heroes they are displayed alongside other famous men from Scottish history, which draws a connection between the events of the Wars and the later events these men were involved in. The windows are somewhat unusual, however, in their depiction of the two warriors; anonymous men presumably placed in the memorial to remember the many 'ordinary' men who fought with Wallace and Bruce. It could also be framing Wallace and Bruce as the 'everyman,' portraying them as equal to unnamed people from the past. These windows may also represent the variety of the ages of the men who fought in the Wars of Independence or, indeed, in the contemporary army of the British Empire, which may have added appeal to visitors of the site. This is the first of a few examples of commemoration in this thesis that consider commemoration of the common people, rather than just the heroes.

The next example comes from several decades later, when new stained-glass windows were installed in St Margaret's Chapel in 1922. The chapel itself was built by King David I in the twelfth century, in honour of his mother Queen Margaret, and it is located within the walls of Edinburgh castle. Douglas Strachan, who was born in Aberdeen in 1875 and originally worked as a muralist, designed the windows.[122] The four windows inside the chapel depict St Andrew, St Columba, St Margaret, and Wallace. The outlier of this group is Wallace, as he does not fit thematically or chronologically. Though not large, the windows are all very bright and feature a symbol along with each figure, such as St Andrew's saltire cross and St Columba's staff. Wallace is shown brandishing a sword and a shield, against flags that appear to bear the coats of arms of Edward I [Figure 3.17]. The design is somewhat abstract, especially the 'enemy' that Wallace is depicted as in battle against. What is perhaps most intriguing

[122] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 85.

about this example is why Wallace is included at all. He does not, at first glance, fit with the three national saints that are depicted. It illustrates the sheer breadth of his commemoration in the period, and how little explanation was needed for his image to be included. What is becoming clear is that there was a standard 'formula' for the commemoration of the Wars of Independence, for example, how Wallace and Bruce are nearly always portrayed with the same weapons and wearing armour, and it was constantly reinforced by new commemorative acts. It was around these ongoing acts that the 'cult' of Wallace emerged, the reverence for him in this period that was the impetus for many of the commemorations in this thesis.[123]

Figure 3.17: Wallace window, St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh (Geograph)

The final example also comes from within the walls of Edinburgh castle, and was also created by Douglas Strachan. The National War Memorial opened in 1927, after eight years of planning and building.[124] Strachan designed and completed the stained glass windows in the memorial between 1925 and 1927.[125] The memorial features a number of decorative windows including a

[123] C. Kidd, (2007) 'The English Cult of Wallace and the Blending of Nineteenth-Century Britain,' in *The Wallace Book*, ed. E.J. Cowan (Edinburgh: Birlinn).
[124] MacLeod, 'Memorials and Location.' Photos of these windows could not be obtained due to the rules surrounding the publication of photos of the memorial.
[125] J. MacDonald, (2001) '"Let us now praise the name of famous men": Myth and Meaning in the Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' *Journal of Design History* 14, 117.

variety of images of modern warfare in the central Hall of Honour. The crucial examples for this study are the seven windows located in the shrine section of the memorial. Juliette MacDonald has shown how these windows differ from the ones in the Hall of Honour, as 'the colours are rich and vivid, the style is more angular and hard-edged and the figures in these windows are less naturalistic, having flattened faces and high cheekbones.'[126] They are also much larger and serve as the focal point for the room, aside from the casket placed at its centre.

According to MacDonald, the windows are meant to illustrate three themes: biblical, allegorical and historical.[127] Figures from the Wars of Independence represent the historical theme. On the third window in the bottom section there is a collection of 'warriors who fought for Scotland's cause.'[128] The group includes Wallace and Calgacus, the semi-mythical figure who helped defeat the Roman army at Mons Graupius.[129] Wallace is on horseback, along with a contemporary soldier. Modern soldiers can be seen beneath this scene. In the same section on the fifth window Bruce is also portrayed on horseback, and a modern soldier is shown standing beyond him in a kilt. There are also two medieval warriors below Bruce, one of whom may be Alexander III.[130] Below them rolling hills and fields can be seen, depicting 'the nation they defended.'[131] Donnelly has suggested this was meant to represent the fields of Bannockburn, but there are no distinguishing features to verify this claim.[132] The figures, however, are not labelled. It is possible the public may not have understood them to specifically be figures from the Wars of Independence, but rather historical warriors. Regardless, the ultimate effect would have been the same. Duncan MacMillan has argued the inclusion of medieval heroes and warriors amongst depictions of modern soldiers connect the goals of both, 'they are Scottish soldiers together in a just fight.'[133] This further adds to the

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[126] MacDonald, 'Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' 121.
[127] MacDonald, 'Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' 121.
[128] D. MacMillan, (2014) *Scotland's Shrine: The Scottish National War Memorial* (Farham: Lund Humphries), 173.
[129] MacDonald, 'Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' 124.
[130] MacMillan, *Scotland's Shrine*, 173.
[131] MacMillan, *Scotland's Shrine,* 173.
[132] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 86.
[133] MacMillan, *Scotland's Shrine*, 173.

narrative of historic Scottish militarism. The link between soldiers of the past and present is continued throughout the room, 'the idea is echoed in the bronze reliefs that run beneath the windows…further emphasized by the huge carved figure of the Archangel Michael…Dominating the ceiling space, Michael is leader of the soldiers of both the heavenly and temporal spheres.'[134] Donnelly has called this connection between the past and the present 'Strachan at his most innovative'.[135] MacDonald has suggested the inclusion of specifically Scottish heroes demonstrated a distinct Scottish identity, during a time when recent conflicts were often depicted under the umbrella of the union or even the Empire.[136]

Stained glass is often overlooked as an act of commemoration, as it can be seen as merely decorative, such as in private houses, or strictly religious, as it was so common in churches at the time. However, the examples above illustrate how much meaning can be conferred through these scenes. They are not merely illustrating historical figures, but also saying something about who the people were in life. Margaret, Maid of Norway is shown with Nordic heroes, showing her place within the history of both Scotland and Scandinavia, as well as the ways in which different locations memorialise different aspects of history. In the Wallace Monument, the heroes of the Wars are placed within a room dedicated to heroes of the rest of Scottish history, showing their place amongst them. The use of Wallace, Bruce, and Alexander III in the National War Memorial creates a medieval link to the history of Scottish militarism. Stained glass presents artists with an opportunity to display decorative but also symbolic images within buildings.

The above figures from the Wars of Independence are also always displayed alongside other figures, whether Margaret with Norwegian figures, Wallace and Bruce with Malcolm III and St Margaret at Dunfermline, the figures from the Wars alongside the busts of famous Scots at the National Wallace Monument, Wallace alongside national saints at Edinburgh Castle, or Wallace

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[134] MacDonald, 'Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' 125.
[135] Donnelly, *Scotland's Stained Glass,* 86.
[136] MacDonald, 'Stained Glass of the Scottish National War Memorial,' 117.

and Bruce with both historical and contemporary warriors in the War Memorial. This suggests that stained glass was an easy way to tie the Wars of Independence in with the wider narrative of Scottish history since figures could easily be portrayed together. Stained glass also often occurred alongside other commemorations, such as the many commemorations at Dunfermline that will be discussed, or as part of the wider National War Memorial.

Conclusion

Building adornments are a particularly fruitful form of commemoration because clues to their meaning and purpose are often displayed alongside them. They are inherently a part of the building they are attached to, whether that building itself commemorates the Wars of Independence, such as the National Wallace Monument, or is not related, like the Athenaeum. This section also introduced the first examples of a number of themes of this study – the importance of locality, the emphasis on historical accuracy, and the role of the public. In particular, three of the four types of locality were seen in this section. Historic locality is shown in the statues of Wallace being placed on buildings associated with him, while personal locality was seen with Carnegie's commemorative contributions in his hometown of Dunfermline, and municipal locality was clear with the placement of the 'Wee Wallace' statue in Stirling in the most public location available and the inclusion of Margaret, Maid of Norway in the stained-glass windows at Lerwick Town Hall.

This section also provided a sense of some of the ways in which the public became involved in commemoration. They were invited to view the designs, or, in the case of Lerwick Town Hall, members of the public were invited to see some of the windows before they were installed. There was also mention of several public unveiling ceremonies, such as at the National Wallace Monument in 1861 and the unveiling of the Dunfermline stained-glass window in 1884, both of which will be discussed further in the next chapter. It is clear, however, that the public was not included in much of the planning and creation of building adornments. Depending on where they were located, they also may

not have been accessible once they were created. For example, the windows in the National War Memorial and St Margaret's Chapel both require entrance to Edinburgh Castle in order to view the windows. Instead, these commemorations were largely created, and often funded, by the upper classes. It is also not always clear how much the public would have known about these figures even if they saw these commemorations. Most of the above examples are either labelled or have consistent iconography as a clue to the viewer, which suggests there was some knowledge of at least Wallace and Bruce, which were by far the most popular choices. The limit of their impact was also seen, however, in the stained glass windows at Lerwick Town Hall, where only Margaret Maid of Norway, who had a local connection, was included.

3.2: Monuments

Monuments are the most well-known type of commemoration. They are created to be viewed by the public, built to last generations, and can often dominate a landscape. Societies throughout history have built monuments in various forms, and the nineteenth century is known as a particularly prolific time of monument building in much of Europe.[137] It is thus not surprising that many examples of stone and bronze memorials to the Wars of Independence can be found in Scotland dating from this time period. This chapter will first consider these monuments dedicated to the Wars in terms of how they fit within the wider field of commemorative monuments. The overall group of monuments will then be considered quantitatively in order to determine trends and distribution. Case studies will then be used to consider the motivations behind the creation of some of these monuments. Finally, a different sort of monument will be considered in landmark objects. These are not purpose-built monuments, but rather locations within the landscape that have gained mythical status and become sites of commemoration because they are somehow associated with the Wars of Independence. Landmark objects generally have

[137] Rodger, *The Hero Building*, 10.

very little basis in historical accuracy but have become pseudo-monuments to the Wars of Independence through the stories told about them. In many cases, they are the only 'monuments' to many of the more obscure people and events from the wars. Though several scholars have considered different monuments to the Wars of Independence, particularly Coleman, there has yet to be a full study of the monuments dedicated to the Wars in Scotland, a gap which this section will fill.[138]

A central question for this chapter is why there was suddenly a proliferation of monuments of all types in this period. John R. Gillis has argued that the late-eighteenth-century era of revolutions led to a culture of commemoration in the nineteenth century. He posits that the significant economic and political changes meant the middle and working classes began to demand commemorations for 'their' history.[139] Conversely, Tim Edensor has argued that the proliferation of monuments stems from the 'romantic nationalism' of the nineteenth century, and key historical events and people were memorialised by monuments because they are public commemorations.[140] Given the strong Romantic and antiquarian influences of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in Scotland, there is little doubt those ideals would have contributed to the desire to commemorate the great figures and events of Scottish history. Further, Quinault, in his examination of the popularity of centennial commemorations following 1850, has argued 'centenary celebrations generally owed less to national pride and government support than to local patriotism and commercial interest.'[141] The growing public interest in the past is ultimately what led to commemoration, and thus memorial building. All three scholars are likely accurate in their explanations of the proliferation of monuments during this period, which is illustrative of the large number of influencing factors. Whatever the original motivations, as will become clear in

[138] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*; Ross, 'Wallace's Monument'; Morton, *William Wallace: A National Tale*; Rodger, *The Hero Building*; Edensor, 'National identity and the politics of memory.'
[139] Gillis, 'Introduction: Memory and Identity,' 7.
[140] Edensor, 'National identity and the politics of memory,' 175.
[141] R. Quinault, (1998) 'The cult of the Centenary, c.1784-1914,' *Historical Research* 71:176, 322.

this chapter, between 1800 and 1939 Scotland went from having one monument to the Wars of Independence, to having an abundance.[142]

The creation of monuments can be seen as indicators of political power. David Smith has argued public monuments help to establish the official narrative, thus producing continuity.[143] Daniel Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer have considered how particularly powerful political events can 'reshape the historical meanings we impose upon, or derive from, a contested public space.'[144] There are several examples in this thesis of changes to the meaning of monuments to the Wars of Independence based on political shifts, particularly surrounding the Wallace Memorial at Elderslie, which will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

Another important consideration is to what extent these monuments were public. They were generally, though not always, placed in public spaces. Morton has described monuments as 'sites of heightened memory…whereby social memory is privileged and shared within the community.'[145] Though other types of commemoration, such as art or literature, may be intended for the public they are generally not part of the process of creation. With monuments, however, there are a number of ways the public was involved in the process, including subscription campaigns and viewing plans before building.[146] Of course, the extent to which the public was truly involved in the process is limited. As Walkowitz and Knauer have asked, 'who has the right (or power, or authority) to decide what happens at a particular site?'[147] Though people from all levels of society lobbied for monuments, donated to their subscription campaigns, and contributed designs, elite and politically-minded males were

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[142] It should also be noted that the Wars of Independence were in no way the only events being commemorated, and monuments were a popular means of commemorating a variety of conflicts.
[143] D.J. Smith, (2008) '"Woe from Stones": Commemoration, Identity Politics, and Estonia's 'War of Monuments',' *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39:4, 49.
[144] D.J. Walkowitz and L.M. Knauer, (2004) 'Introduction,' in *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (Durham: Duke University Press), 2.
[145] Morton, 'Social Memory of Jane Porter,' 313.
[146] N. Johnson, (1995) 'Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism,' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, 57.
[147] Walkowitz and Knauer, 'Introduction,' 2.

still almost exclusively responsible for the creation of the monuments themselves.[148] As Gill Abousnnouga and David Machin have shown, once members of the public had given their financial contributions, not only were they not invited to participate in the design process, they were occasionally even barred from the unveiling ceremonies and events.[149] However, supporting and donating to monuments was important at all levels of society at this time as they publicly illustrated one's allegiance to the Scottish past. During the nineteenth-century popularity of the Union, the societal implications of this should not be overlooked, as Alan King has emphasised, 'contributions to memorials were understood to serve a symbolic as much as a practical purpose. Giving was the essential commemorative act, showing the community's appreciation of the person commemorated.'[150] This question of how the public was involved in the process will be explored in each case study.

Though the focus of this chapter is generally on the forms the monuments take, as well as the decisions behind their creations, the space they occupy is often critical when considering how they ended up in a location and what importance that location provides. This could be seen with the statues on buildings from the beginning of this chapter, particularly the 'Wee Wallace' in Stirling. The statue was placed on a building that was considered to be the most public location, but instead it is occasionally lost in the overall backdrop. Several scholars have considered landscapes of commemoration, including Dan Knox, who examined the sacred status of Glencoe, and how many landscapes of significance in Scotland are associated with battle sites relating to the fight for Scottish independence, such as Bannockburn.[151] Coleman has considered how the emotions these sites invoke is often more significant, in terms of the collective memory, than the actual site itself.[152] For example, though the Battle of Bannockburn did not occur precisely where the site currently stands, what

[148] Gillis, 'Introduction,' 10.
[149] G. Abousnnouga and D. Machin, (2013) *The Language of War Monuments* (London: Bloomsbury), 87.
[150] A. King, (1998) *Memorials of the Great War in Britain* (Oxford: Berg), 42.
[151] Knox, 'The Sacralised Landscapes of Glencoe,' 186.
[152] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 14.

the infrastructure at the present site represents in terms of the cultural memory of Scotland far exceeds the importance of the historic location of the battle.

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, these monuments are war memorials, though those dedicated to the Wars of Independence occupy a distinctive place in this field. They are certainly war memorials, but they are not dealing with loss and grief. This is in stark contrast to the memorials built following the South African War and the First World War in Scotland, which were focused on grieving the loss of individual, ordinary men. [153] In contrast, the casualties of the Wars of Independence died five or six hundred years before each monument was built. Therefore, monuments to the Wars are celebrating war heroes, rather than grieving their loss. Despite the initial differences, there is still much in the wider literature on war memorials that is worthy of mention. King has argued war memorialisation was used to help raise national sentiments and morale, such as the celebrations surrounding King George III's jubilee in 1809 in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars.[154] In Scotland this may help explain the significant number of monuments dedicated to the Wars that were built in the early twentieth century, despite the sheer number of monuments to the First World War being erected at the same point. Goebel has argued that following the First World War some people 'set out to heal the fractures of war by asserting historical continuity through memorials and acts of remembrance.'[155] Perhaps remembering a 'glorious' war from the past would help heal the present wounds. The medieval past became particularly important in this concept of historical continuity during and after the First World War. Goebel has shown how people in both Britain and Germany 'drew on their understanding of a remote but meaningful past.'[156] This was partially accomplished by illustrating how war and conflict have long been a part of history, and the First World War was the latest iteration, but historically it

[153] J.M. Winter, (1995) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 27.
[154] King, *Memorials of the Great War*, 40.
[155] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 1.
[156] Goebel, 'Spirit of the Crusaders,' 127.

would be followed by a period of peace.[157] This helps explain why medievalism flourished following the First World War but fell in popularity following the Second World War – this narrative of historical continuity was no longer appropriate. Since the tradition of Scottish militarism was used in recruitment campaigns, though they largely featured the Highland soldier, the losses and carnage of the war also had to be justified in the years following.

There have also been several studies of Scottish monuments built within this period to memorialise other conflicts, which also indicate the popularity for monument building to Scottish history in general in this period, not just for the Wars of Independence. The early nineteenth century saw the creation of the Nelson Monument on Calton Hill in Edinburgh in 1815/16 and the Glenfinnan Monument honouring the landing of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' at the beginning of the Jacobite uprisings in 1815. John Gifford has examined the creation of the National Monument of Scotland, the infamous half-completed Parthenon on Calton Hill in Edinburgh.[158] It is significant in that it received very little government funding – there was a refusal to pay for another monument to the Napoleonic Wars outside of London – so the money was raised by the Highland Society of Scotland through subscriptions.[159] This public subscription campaign, which lasted from 1823 to 1826, was one of the first in Scotland.[160] It was not entirely successful as the scheme ran out of money before the monument was finished, however, it did pave the way for similar subscription campaigns for many of the monuments built throughout the remainder of the century. The memory of the stoppage of work on the National Monument would shadow planned memorials over the coming years, and may help explain a rise in more local, less expensive memorials. Yet another monument was built on Calton Hill in 1844, the Scottish Political Martyrs' Monument, the campaign for which was started by Radical MP Joseph Hume.[161] This illustrates how the history was

[157] Goebel, 'Spirit of the Crusaders,' 127.
[158] J. Gifford, (2014) 'The National Monument of Scotland,' *Architectural Heritage* 25.
[159] Gifford, 'National Monument,' 45.
[160] Gifford, 'National Monument,' 45.
[161] A. Tyrrell with M.T. Davis, (2004) 'Bearding the Tories: The Commemoration of the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1793-94,' *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell (Aldershot: Ashgate)

being moulded to fit political agendas in this period. However, monuments did not always carry such a political burden, such as the statue of Greyfriars' Bobby in Edinburgh, which was unveiled in 1873. The 1880s, which has already been mentioned as the high point in terms of the number of monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence, also say the erection of the memorial cairn marking the site of the Battle of Culloden.

Less than a century later, another national monument was planned for Scotland, the Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle. The castle was first suggested as a potential location for the memorial in 1919, following the First World War, and it was completed in 1927.[162] It was thought that a memorial for the whole of Scotland would be the most appropriate tribute to the war's fallen, however, 'what was not anticipated at this stage was the powerful appeal of local memorials.'[163] There is now scarcely a town or village in Scotland that does not have some type of war memorial, bearing the names of the local dead from the First and Second World Wars and subsequent conflicts. These local monuments illustrate how the public can become involved in monument-building through organising smaller-scale monuments. Though this is occasionally attributed to memorials dedicated to the First World War, as this section will reveal, this was a nineteenth century phenomenon.

Monuments by the numbers

The term 'monument' in this study refers to large-scale, public structures built for the purpose of commemoration. Overall, there are thirty-five monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence located within Scotland, dating from 1784 to a commission for an upcoming monument marking the location of the Battle of Stirling Bridge. Appendix One contains the full list of these monuments, including their location, form, and who they were dedicated to. These will be considered as a group, but they will also be subdivided into

[162] MacLeod, 'Memorials and Location,' 74.
[163] MacLeod, 'Memorials and Location,' 74.

those found in urban areas and those found in rural environments. Urban monuments generally include those that were raised by committees or groups, often with the help of public funds, to people and events that have a clear place in Scottish history. These often have a relatively rich paper trail to follow in terms of the history of the monument itself. Rural monuments, on the other hand, were more likely to be raised by one person, and often have less of a public impact than the urban examples. As with any attempt at categorization, these delineations are not perfect. On average, however, urban and rural monuments do act differently, and therefore it is worthwhile to occasionally divide them to consider how so. There are twenty-eight urban monuments and seven rural monuments.

A lot can be revealed from looking at these thirty-five monuments as a whole, regardless of whether they are urban or rural. Turning first to the timing of their creation, thirteen were built in the nineteenth century, fifteen in the twentieth, and six, thus far, in the twenty-first. Between 1800 and 1939, nearly two-thirds (63%) of these monuments were erected. This clearly reflects the culture of commemoration for the Wars of Independence which is the basis for this study. There are also certain periods that show particularly prolific periods of monument building. As Figure 3.18 shows, in the twenty years between 1869 and 1889 seven monuments were built, compared with only two from 1849 to 1869 and one from 1889 to 1909. This does not correspond with any significant anniversaries or other similar incentives for the erection of monuments, so it is likely illustrative of the growing popularity of monument-building as a form of commemoration during this period. Another popular period was 1928 to 1930, when five monuments were unveiled, including three in 1929. Monument building to the Wars slowed significantly following this, with only three built in the sixty-six years between 1930 and 1996. Since then, however, there have been nine monuments either erected or planned. This is likely in response to the *Braveheart* effect, as well as the many 700th anniversaries to events of the Wars of Independence that have been celebrated in the past two decades. It also perhaps reflects the changing political climate in Scotland with increased calls for Home Rule and devolution.

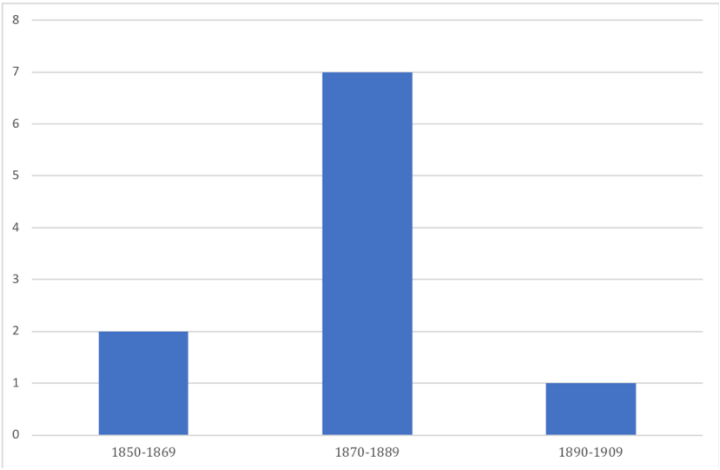

Figure 3.18: Number of monuments built in twenty-year increments

This list of monuments can also be considered by who they are dedicated to. An impressive 80% of all of the thirty-five monuments are dedicated to either Bruce or Wallace – 46% to Wallace and 34% to Bruce. Figure 3.19 compares how many monuments were built for each of these men in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Wallace had eight monuments dedicated to him in the nineteenth century, dropping to five in the twentieth. Between 1800 and 1939, a full 75% of his monuments were built. This is further evidence of the popularity Wallace enjoyed in the nineteenth century. In fact, there were eight monuments to Wallace before there was a monument dedicated to Bruce. Wallace's monopoly on monuments ended in 1870, when a flagpole commemorating the Battle of Bannockburn was raised on the battle site. This was still seven years before any monument was dedicated to Bruce, the victor of the battle. Bruce's monument history is rather different from Wallace's. He enjoyed more popularity in the twentieth century, with only three monuments dedicated to him in the nineteenth century, compared with seven in the twentieth. Only 58% of his monuments fall between 1800 and 1939, 12% less than Wallace. Bruce's popularity came slower than Wallace's but gained a strong foothold in the early twentieth century.

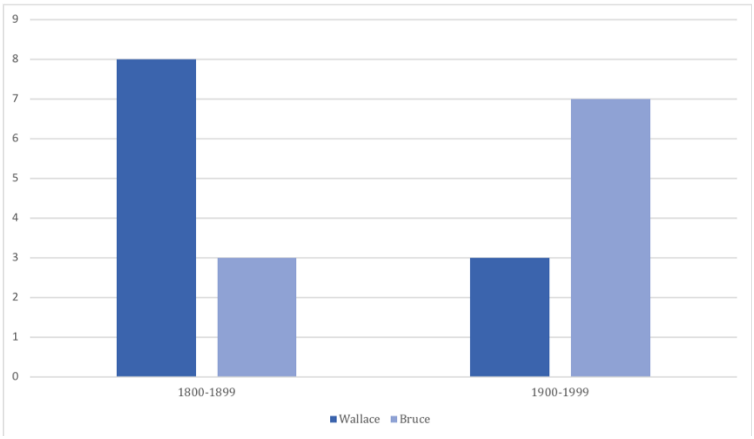

Figure 3.19: Number of monuments dedicated to Wallace or Bruce

In terms of the monuments that are not dedicated to Wallace or Bruce they largely account for the majority of the monuments built in the twenty-first century, but 56% fall within the time period of this study. These monuments were dedicated to a number of different people and events in this period. There are two focused on the Battle of Bannockburn, and one each for Alexander III and Sir John de Graeme, a noble who fought with Wallace and died at the Battle of Falkirk.

Another area of interest is the forms that these monuments take. The most popular by far are statues, with thirteen overall and nine during the period from 1800 to 1939. Engraved stones or cairns were popular at the beginning of the time period, including the first monument dedicated to Wallace from 1784, as well as more recently, including the 2007 cairn dedicated to the Battle of Falkirk. Alternatively, some types of monument were only popular during a specific period, such as towers/buildings, which were almost exclusively built in the late nineteenth century. These variations in monument form show how trends in commemorative practices ebb and flow over time. Again, these different types of monuments can be split into types based on who they commemorate, which reveals some interesting patterns. Bruce outnumbers Wallace overall in statues, but they have the same number (five) for the time period of this study. The two men are overwhelmingly represented by either buildings/towers or statues. Perhaps this is another example of a trend being created over the course of this period – once some towns had monuments to Wallace, others followed suit. It could also be the nature of what is being

commemorated, i.e. a statue lends itself to commemorating a person more so than a battle.

The monuments as a whole can also be examined by placing them on a map. The image below [Figure 3.20] shows the distribution of all thirty-five monuments, whether urban or rural.

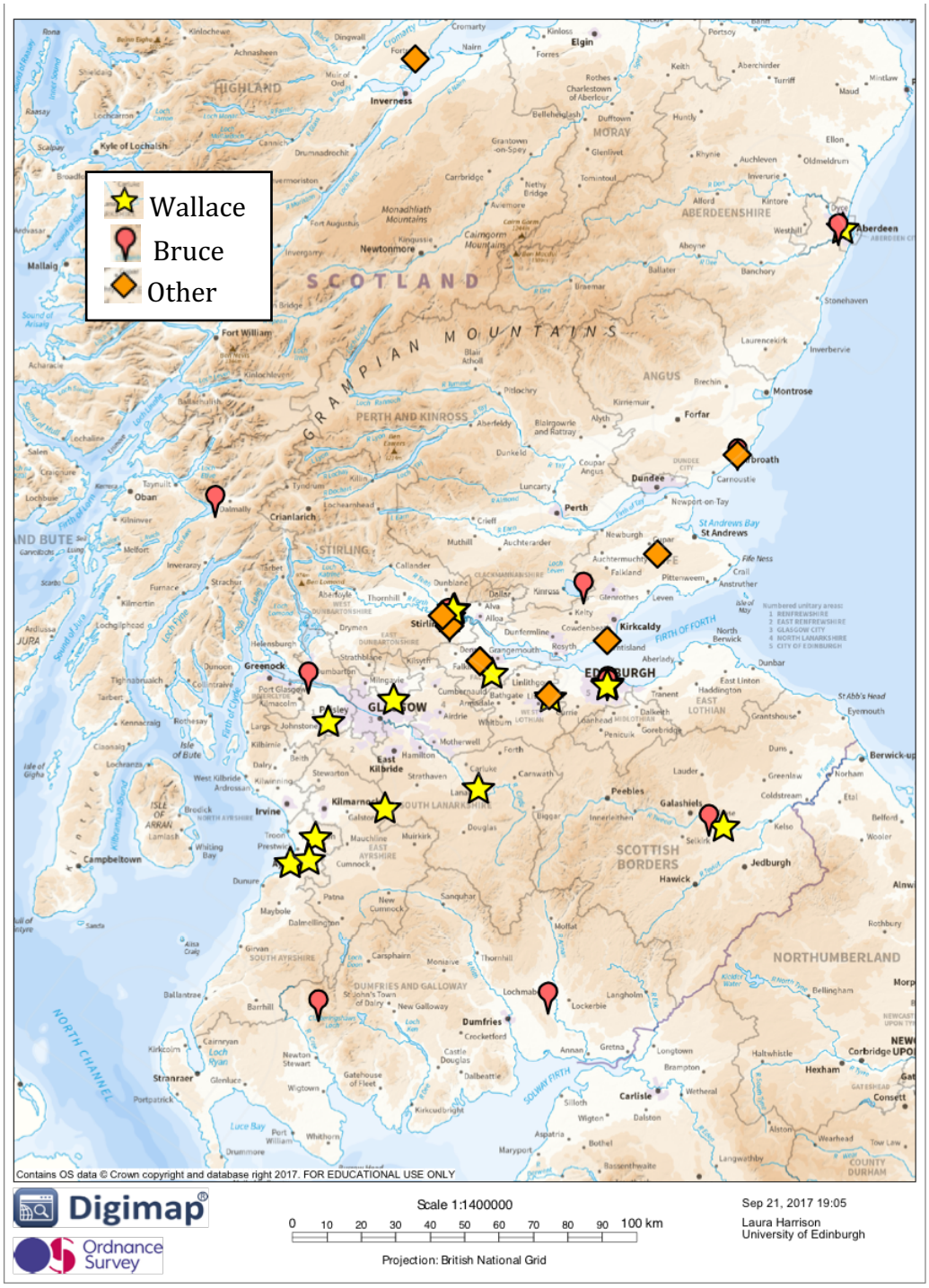

Figure 3.20: Map of monuments, all dates

Perhaps the clearest trend initially on the map is the concentration of monuments across the central belt of Scotland. This could be because this is the largest concentration of population and therefore there are more towns and cities to raise monuments. However, this also follows the pattern of events from the Wars themselves.[164] Consequently, this is further evidence of the importance of historic locality to commemorations. The best example of this is Stirling, which has seven monuments either within the town or nearby. As previously indication, this is by far the highest concentration of monuments in Scotland, and it is no coincidence that it is also the scene for the most significant battles during the Wars. Other examples of this include the frequency of Wallace memorials in the west, where he spent most of his time, the two in Arbroath, for the Declaration of Arbroath, and two in Falkirk, commemorating Wallace's loss there.

Looking specifically at the period of this study the picture is very much the same [Figure 3.21]. The spread of monuments across the central belt becomes even more prominent. It is also apparent how popular memorials to Wallace were in this period. Again, this shows the effect of Wallace on the psyche of the public in the period – since he was better known, and perhaps better respected, he was also commemorated more. It is also evidence of the growing popularity of Bruce and other events from the Wars in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries since the previous map had a much more varied spread of all of the categories. This reflects the ongoing unpopularity of the aristocracy in nineteenth-century Scotland. The Disruption of the Kirk, upheaval following the Reform crisis, and land debates all contributed to this distrust. Therefore, Wallace, as an 'everyman' was more appealing than the aristocratic Bruce.

[164] This will be discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

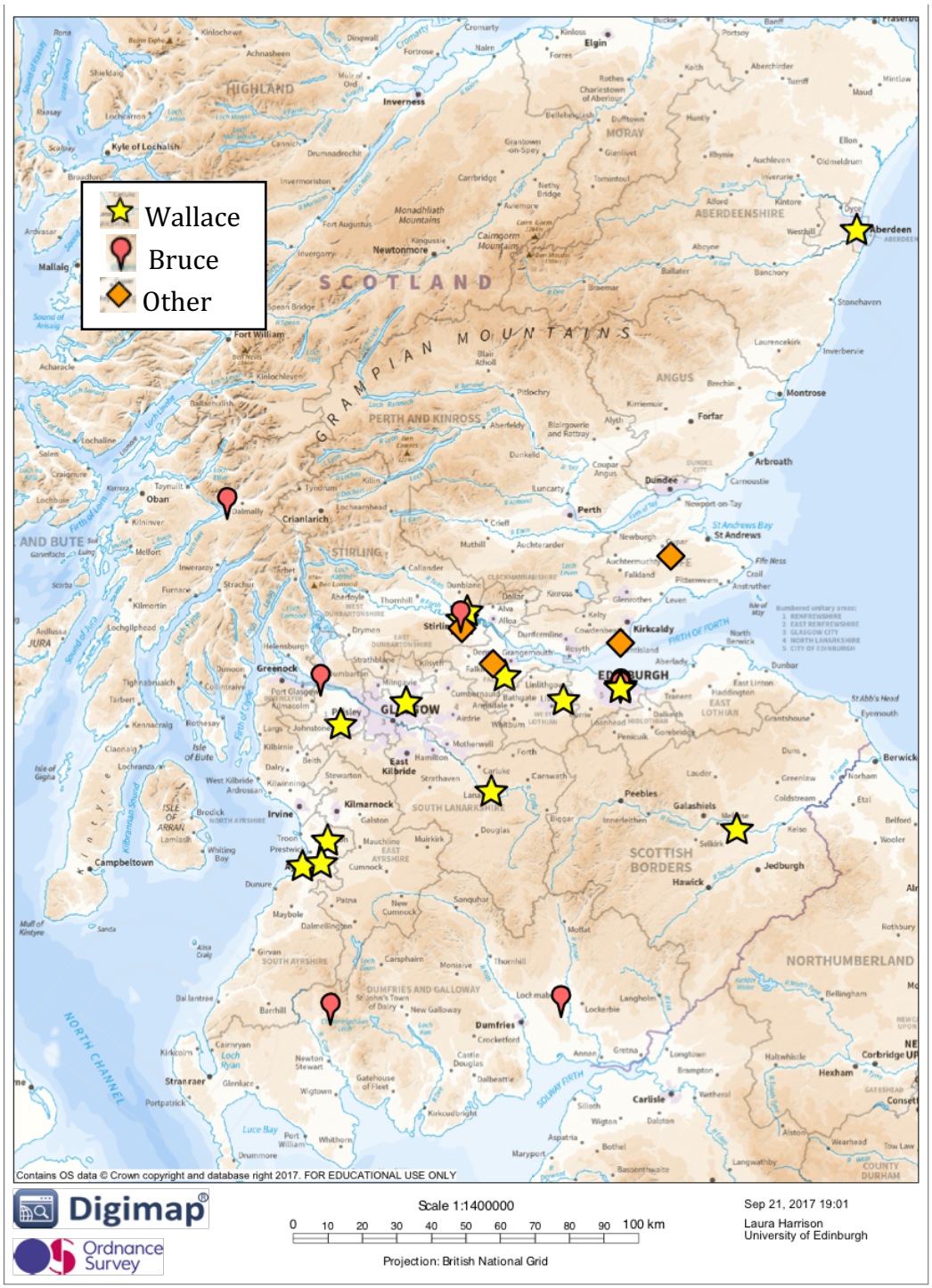

Figure 3.21: Map of monuments, 1800-1939

Another intriguing line of research is to determine which monuments are marked on the Ordnance Survey Maps. The idea for a series of detailed maps of Britain came after the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, when the lack of maps for many

of the regions in the Highlands became clear.[165] It wasn't until 1791, however, that the first employees were hired, and surveying equipment was purchased.[166] The First Series was completed in 1870.[167] From the beginning, the maps included locations of important battles and historical events. Richard Oliver has shown that military sites were often the most regularly marked.[168] There were three categories of 'antiquities' included in the maps, but the one crucial to this study is the second, 'natural features and places associated with (i) well-known historical events and folk-lore traditions, such as battlefields, scenes of political events of major significance, and features associated with important historical figures.'[169] The inclusion of historical events is evidence that people were looking to the past in this period, as it suggests people may be looking for these locations on their maps. Maps are similar to commemorations in that what is included in them reveals much about the society in which they were created.

The National Library of Scotland has a database featuring historic OS maps, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century and the origins of the endeavour. These were compared with the most recent OS maps from 2015, specifically considering whether each monument was recorded and how it was referred to on the maps. This information is recorded in Appendix One. It should be noted that the data is more accurate for the period from 1800 to 1939 rather than the later monuments due to changes in the OS mapping system in the twentieth century. Since this still suits the time period of this study it does not skew the data in any significant way. Overall, fifteen of the thirty-five monuments appeared on one or more OS maps, eight on historical maps and twelve on 2015 versions. Seven monuments appeared on both. Therefore, 43% of the monuments appear on OS maps. When looking at the monuments from 1800 to 1939, this number rises to 50% (eleven of twenty-two). In the period

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[165] R. Hewitt, (2010) *Map of a Nation: A biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta), xxii.
[166] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation*, xxv.
[167] Hewitt, *Map of a Nation*, xxvi.
[168] R.R. Oliver, (2013) *Ordnance Survey Maps: A concise guide for historians* (London: The Charles Close Society), 83.
[169] J.B. Harley, (1975) *Ordnance Survey and Land-Use Mapping, 1855-1918* (Norwich: Geo Books), 146-7.

following 1939, only four monuments were added to the map, though twelve have been constructed during this time. Therefore, the older monuments receive more attention on the maps. This may be due to the changes in the mapping system, so new monuments are not surveyed as often but the older ones are left on from previous versions. It may also indicate that the older monuments are themselves now considered historically important, so they are memorialised on the maps.

Studying OS maps also shows a considerable difference in the map representation between urban and rural monuments. Looking at the urban monuments, on the 2015 maps 29% of the monuments appear and 25% on the historic maps. Of the rural monuments, 57% are shown on the 2015 maps and 49% on the historic. Clearly, the rural monuments are much better represented on OS maps than the urban monuments. This is likely due to the large amount of information that must be included on the maps for cities. In contrast, rural areas on the maps have more available space for this type of information. The names given to the monuments are also noteworthy. Some are referred to as 'Monument' or just 'Mon,' such as Alexander III's memorial at Kinghorn. Others are much more specific, like 'Wallace's Monument' in Robroyston. For several of the later memorials the monument is added to maps that already commemorated the battle. For example, the 1852 map of Kirkcudbrightshire features the 'Site of Battle between the English and Scotch 1306-7.' An engraved stone was added in 1929 to commemorate this battle and the 2015 map includes 'Bruce's Stone, Battle of Glentrool 1307' at the same site. The majority of the maps, however, are remarkably similar in how they refer to the monuments over the years. This is reflective of the process of OS mapping in that they are revised not created anew.

Examining the group of monuments as a whole, categorising them, and plotting them on a map all provide different perspectives with which to understand the culture of monument building in Scotland. The popularity of Wallace earlier in the period and Bruce later on becomes clear. Potential traditions in terms of form and subject also begin to emerge. Perhaps most significantly, the pattern of distribution of the monuments clearly aligns with

events from the Wars of Independence themselves, another example of how influential historic locality is. Examining OS maps potentially illustrates the popularity of different monuments and shows some of the information that was available about them. Individual case studies of monuments will now be considered, in order to shed some light on how these monuments were built and celebrated.

Case Studies

The first case study comes from Ceres, Fife where a Bannockburn Memorial was erected in 1914 [Figure 3.22]. It is unusual in that it does not only commemorate the battle but also the local men who fought in it. Amongst the thirty-five monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence, this is the single example of one dedicated to the local men, rather than the heroes. The inscription reads, 'To commemorate the vindication of Scotland's independence on the field of Bannockburn 26th June 1314 – And to perpetuate the tradition of the part taken therein by the men of Ceres.' It was built in honour of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[170]

Figure 3.22: Bannockburn Memorial, Ceres (Geograph)

[170] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.

A local committee was raised in the summer of 1913 with the aim 'to raise money for a Bannockburn memorial to be erected in the village.'[171] Some of the motivations behind this monument are revealed by the decision to carve the goal – to 'perpetuate the tradition' – into the monument itself. From the start the Ceres Games, an annual community fair and sporting event, was synonymous with the monument itself, as a *Dundee Courier and Argus* article outlining the formation of the committee reveals 'the Ceres Games are said to have been inaugurated on the return of the villagers from the field of Bannockburn, and to have been held annually ever since.'[172] It is noteworthy that prior to 1913 there was almost no mention of Bannockburn in newspaper coverage of the Ceres Games. The one exception comes from a piece in *The Daily Mail* in 1909, which describes a local doctor who was charged with assault following the Games.[173] The article reveals that the assault occurred 'on the Sunday morning following the Ceres games, which are held to celebrate the return of local men from the Battle of Bannockburn.'[174] The fact that this anecdote about the Games was included in a national publication is perhaps telling of the popularity of the battle at the time – there is no context given about the Battle of Bannockburn, so the newspaper must have assumed its readers would be familiar. In contrast, there is no mention of the Games or local involvement in the Battle of Bannockburn in the Ceres sections of both the old and new *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*.[175] There is mention of the battle in Groome's *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* from 1896, though it only says 'over its ancient narrow bridge the men of Ceres marched, according to tradition, to join Robert Bruce's army on the eve of Bannockburn.'[176] Whatever the knowledge of the Games prior to the existence of the memorial, afterwards every mention of the Ceres Games also refers to the Battle of Bannockburn. This

[171] 'Bannockburn Memorial for Ceres,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 30 Jul 1913.
[172] 'Bannockburn Memorial for Ceres,' 30 Jul 1913.
[173] 'Doctor Fused for Assault,' *Daily Mail* (London), 7 Jul 1909.
[174] 'Doctor Fused for Assault,' 7 Jul 1909.
[175] A brief history of the *New/Old Statistical Accounts* is on page 48-49.
[176] F.H. Groome, (1896) *Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland*, accessed at http://www.gazetteerofscotland.org.uk.

is evidence of the local heritage surrounding the history of the Games that developed, as well as perhaps a more interested public following other anniversary celebrations.

During the battle the men of Ceres are said to have been led by Sir Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland. An article on 'Historic Scenes in Fifeshire' from 1876 says 'on the field of Bannockburn Sir Robert Keith had the command of a strong body of cavalry, many of them Ceres men.'[177] The article also indicates the Keith family held land in Fife during the time of Bruce, but particularly Struthers, which is very near to Ceres. Keith's local connection, however, is not highlighted in any of the literature about the monument. That the men fought with Keith is always mentioned, but the fact that he was from the area is not. Perhaps this was well-known knowledge and thus it did not need to be mentioned. Alternatively, the fact that Keith may have led the local men to the battle may have not been seen as an important part of the narrative, and perhaps the public was less interested in how the men got there than the fact that they were there.

The monument in Ceres was largely paid for by subscriptions from local people. In the National Records of Scotland there is a copy of a letter asking for a donation, from the secretary of the committee, John Grant to Henry H Hope, of Luffness, Aberlady.[178] This is presumably one of many such letters, and it reveals what would have been included in an appeal as part of a subscription campaign. The letter includes a pledge form, as well as a large and decorated pamphlet.[179] The letter inside begins by outlining the story of the men of Ceres joining Bruce in battle, 'in recognition of their services the King granted them a Fair and Market to be held on the Anniversary of the Battle and thus it is believed were instituted the Ceres Games, which have survived to the present day.'[180] The pamphlet goes on to say in honour of the upcoming anniversary there have been calls for 'a Monument which shall commemorate, not on one

[177] 'Historic Scenes in Fifeshire,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee), 4 Apr 1876.
[178] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.
[179] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.
[180] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.

day only, but on every day throughout the year, the part taken by the Men of Ceres in Scotland's liberation.'[181] Finally, the letter appeals to the patriotism of Mr. Hope, 'in the hope that you may feel disposed to contribute to a project appealing so directly to the patriotic and historic sentiments of Scotsmen… Annexed is a subscription Form.'[182] This is a reminder of how important socially it was to contribute to these campaigns, in order to show one's patriotism. The subscription campaign in Ceres was not entirely successful, however, as an article in *The Evening Telegraph and Post* from April 1914 featured a drawing of the proposed memorial and a plea for donations, saying the committee had raised only £155 of the £200 goal.[183] At the end of that month it was revealed an American contractor, Robert Russell, who had spent time as a child nearby 'has sent 125 dollars to the Ceres Bannockburn Memorial Fund.'[184] This is an example of personal locality, since the connection Russell had with the area appears to be what led him to make such a generous donation.

The Bannockburn Memorial in Ceres provides a useful case study in a number of ways. First it is unusual in that it commemorates the local men of the town. It was built after several monuments around Scotland dedicated to the local men who fought in the South African war, so perhaps this was part of the inspiration. Another possible explanation is that since Ceres is not geographically very close to the battle site, nor did Bruce himself have any significant connection to the town, perhaps the local men and the Games were the best way for the town to join the popular commemoration of the Wars that was occurring throughout Scotland. Second, Ceres is an example of the general process that monuments went through when being built. A committee was put together, they took subscriptions, a design was decided upon, the monument was built, and a grand event was planned for the unveiling. In this way, Ceres presents a very typical example of monuments to the Wars in this period. It also reveals the varying levels of engagement of the public in the process. It is clear

[181] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.
[182] NRS: 'Papers relating to the Bannockburn Memorial Ceres,' GD364/1/872.
[183] 'Bannockburn Sex-Centenary Memorial at Ceres,' *The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), 7 Apr 1914.
[184] 'Ceres Bannockburn Memorial,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 27 Apr 1914.

that there were opportunities in terms of the subscription campaign, the unveiling and there was also ample coverage in local papers. However, the subscription campaign alone was not a success, and it is not clear to what extent the Ceres Games were tied to the Battle of Bannockburn prior to the building of the monument.

The next case study is a statue of Wallace that was unveiled in Aberdeen in 1888 [Figure 3.23], so it is another example of the popularity of commemorations during this decade. The statue was funded by an 1866 bequest from John Steill, a writer from Edinburgh.[185] The design was decided through public competition, for which twenty designs were submitted from both within the UK and internationally.[186] An article discussing the proposed plan makes it clear there was a demand by the public to be able to view the designs following adjudication.[187] The fact that the people of Aberdeen wanted to be view the designs shows the familiarity of the public with the many monuments to the Wars that were being produced in this period. Many knew the public was being involved in the process and wanted that to continue with this new statue. In the end, the design of the Wallace statue was not displayed publicly, but public fears were eased when the committee released a letter of support for the chosen design, stating 'the statue is 16ft. in height, being the largest and most important figure yet erected in Scotland.'[188]

[185] 'The Wallace Statue at Aberdeen,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 10 Feb 1880.
[186] 'Competitive Designs for the Wallace Statue in Aberdeen,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen), 5 Jul 1884.
[187] 'Competitive Designs for the Wallace Statue in Aberdeen,' 5 Jul 1884.
[188] 'Competitive Designs for the Wallace Statue in Aberdeen,' 5 Jul 1884.

Figure 3.23: Wallace statue, Aberdeen (Geograph)

The motivations of Steill in leaving the funds for the monument bear some further attention. In a letter of instruction with the bequest Steill wrote 'I have from boyhood cherished an admiration of the character of William Wallace…I desire to leave some token of my love for the memory of this great man, and of my attachment to the principle for which he contended.'[189] Wallace does not have a strong historical link with Aberdeen. Bruce is said to have started the Common Good fund in the city, which was the motivation behind the statue of Bruce erected in the city in 2011. Steill's request, however, appears to be more about his own personal locality, as he was from the northeast of Scotland, and it has also been suggested that his father was from near Aberdeen.[190] It is also illustrative of the popularity of Wallace in the later-nineteenth century since it appears that no one questioned the decision to place a statue of Wallace in the city. Steill's specific interest in Wallace is further reinforced by his involvement in the campaign to build the National Wallace Monument, though he died before this came to fruition.[191]

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[189] 'The Wallace Statue,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen), 28 Jan 1886.
[190] D. Morgan, (2015) *Aberdeen's Union Terrace Gardens* (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing).
[191] Ash, *Strange Death*, 144.

Steill is somewhat unusual from many of the other figures in this thesis because he was an early anti-Unionist. He wrote a number of pamphlets justifying his distaste for the Union, and he included people and events from the Wars in several of them to help reinforce his opinion. His preference of Wallace over Bruce is clear in the following excerpt, 'where will you find the deeds of two such heroes as Wallace and Bruce (especially the former) recorded in the pages of English story?'[192] In addition, Steill was very vocally anti-aristocratic, which also accounts for his preference of Wallace over Bruce.[193] He wrote that 'a more contemptible order of beings than the present race of Scottish *nobles* [*sic*] crawls not upon the face of the globe…if they had a country to desert, as they had in the days of Wallace, they would desert it.[194] Steill goes on to say the middle classes are the ones for whom Wallace '"laid down his life" so they should be the ones taking commemoration in their own hands.'[195] Steill is directly calling for power to be taken away from the aristocracy when it comes to commemoration, but presumably in other areas as well, reflecting Steill's wider beliefs.

The Aberdeen Wallace statue shows how influential personal locality could be in commemoration. It was Steill's personal links that caused the monument to be raised in Aberdeen, as well as his preference for Wallace, rather than a historical connection. Since its creation, however, the statue has become part of the town's story, giving Wallace a geographical connection to Aberdeen that he never enjoyed in life. The monument also shows how the public could be vocal about their involvement in the planning process when they demanded to see the chosen design for the statue. Ultimately, however, their request was not granted.

The third case study comes from Edinburgh, where statues of Wallace and Bruce were installed in the walls of Edinburgh Castle in 1929 [Figure 3.24].

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[192] J. Steill, (1844) *Scotland Vindicated: in a letter to the Editor of the Weekly Dispatch* (Edinburgh: A. Ramsay), 7.
[193] Ash, *Strange Death,* 137.
[194] J. Steill, (1846) *P.F. Tytler called to account for his misrepresentations of the life and character of Sir William Wallace*, from letter to the *Scottish Herald*, November 13, 9-11.
[195] Steill, *P.F. Tytler called to account*, 9-11.

These statues are the second ones dedicated to Wallace and Bruce that were built in Edinburgh, the first being at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. It was the sculptor of these statues who suggested significance should be prioritised over accuracy, as quoted at the beginning of this thesis. These statues could also be placed in the building adornment section of this chapter as statues on buildings, but they are more appropriate in the monuments section because of how they were viewed during the uproar surrounding their design. These statues were placed two years after the Scottish National War Memorial was opened inside the castle walls, and they are one of the five commemorations built between 1929 and 1930. Ongoing commemoration following the First World War was likely the inspiration for this upswing in acts of commemorations, as the Wars of Independence were placed within a historical framework.

Figure 3.24: Wallace (left) and Bruce statues, Edinburgh Castle (Geograph)

These statues were surrounded by a lot of controversy during their creation, both within the committee and amongst the public, all of which reveals much about the reputations of the figures of Wallace and Bruce at the time. The first disagreement was in regard to where the statues should be placed. The statues were originally meant to be placed in the courtyard near the new

National War Memorial, before there was discussion of placing them on the esplanade in front of the Castle.[196] Even once it was decided the statues should be placed in niches on the castle walls, where these niches should be placed was a cause for concern. The architect, Robert Lorimer, wrote to Stanley Cursiter, of the National Gallery of Scotland, to say he thought they should be farther from the entrance 'as I think in order to give the niches their full value it is important to have a good expanse of rubble masonry on each side of the niche.'[197] An issue that concerned several people was whether the niches provided the appropriate dignified location for the figures of Wallace and Bruce. Dr Pittendrigh Macgillivray, His Majesty's Sculptor for Scotland, was particularly vocal about this. Macgillivray was 'almost universal' in the types of art he pursued, including sculpture, painting, music, and he was also an architect and philosopher.[198] He created several of the sculptures for the façade of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[199] He was an 'ardent nationalist' and a supporter of Home Rule, which perhaps explains his concern that the statues were not receiving an appropriate amount of gravitas.[200] In a letter to the Chairman of the Fine Art Commission of Scotland, he refers to himself as 'an old-fashion patriot' and as such, 'it gravels me to be up against a scheme whereby Scotland's two most noble champions are to be suspended like a pair of culprits on the outer wall of the Castle barbican, in the capital of the country which owes its independence to them.'[201]

The question of funding the monument was another ongoing issue. The money had been left in a bequest by Captain Hugh Reid in 1832, which contained 'a fund for 25 years to assist in erecting some Memorial to Wallace and Bruce – say an ornamental piece of water in the North Loch with a fountain in the centre and colossal statues in Bronze of each Hero as in Conference.'[202]

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[196] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[197] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[198] R.L. Woodward, (2004) 'MacGillivray, (James) Pittendrigh,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49240.
[199] Woodward, 'MacGillivray, (James) Pittendrigh,' *ODNB*.
[200] Woodward, 'MacGillivray, (James) Pittendrigh,' *ODNB*.
[201] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[202] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.

Having the heroes 'in conference' reflects the nineteenth century view of Wallace influencing Bruce, as has already been seen multiple times in this thesis. Though the design suggestion was not followed, partially because the loch was drained to make room for new railway lines, the bequest was finally used to pay for these statues. There was no additional subscription campaign to supplement the bequest, which surprised many.[203] In another letter from Macgillivray, he calls for subscription campaigns that were focused on local interests, 'why should not Glasgow give the Wallace? – the hero of the West Country – and let Edinburgh, the Capital, give King Robert? And thus have the two great cities of the country sharing equally in this national dedication.'[204] This suggests something about how different places in Scotland saw themselves as tied to different heroes. Wallace was viewed as having stronger ties to the west of Scotland. This can also be seen in the distribution of Wallace monuments as shown in the above maps. Bruce, despite also being from the west of Scotland, was viewed as more of a national figure. In a later note to the Fine Art Commission, Macgillivray notes that the plan, 'is utterly inadequate…as the tribute of the Capital of Scotland to the most heroic of our history. But alas! It is not even a tribute from the Capital.'[205] Here he is referring to the fact that Edinburgh City Council did not contribute any money to the project. Macgillivray ultimately wanted a much grander tribute to Wallace and Bruce, and he saw a subscription campaign as essential for doing this. His distaste that Edinburgh City Council was not contributing any funds to the monument itself suggests the practice and importance of municipal locality at this time, as it seems he expected the town council to contribute to the project.

There was also concern about the extent to which historical accuracy was important in the overall design of the statues. This appeared in two separate arguments. The first involved whether the placement of the statues ruined the look of the medieval castle, to which Sir Geo. Washington Browne replied 'there has been erected in its heart a great Scottish National War

[203] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[204] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[205] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.

Memorial wholly alien to the idea of a fortress, and to accept that at its heart and quibble at the form of a memorial to Scotland's national heroes at its gate seems to me to be swallowing the camel and straining at the gnat.'[206] The other issue with historical accuracy concerned the large, two-handed sword that Wallace held in the designs, which will be discussed further in Chapter Five. Ultimately, neither of these concerns was addressed, which again reiterates Carrick's suggestion that significance was more important than accuracy in regard to these statues.

Images of the proposed statues appeared in the *Scotsman* in January 1928, and many letters from the public followed with concerns similar to those of the committee. The anachronism of Wallace's sword was pointed out, and Walter Scott was brought into this debate, saying he gave his fourteenth- and fifteenth-century characters large swords, 'so Mr Carrick can quote tradition for his design.'[207] That Scott gave his characters longswords does not mean they are historically accurate, but again the design choice was ultimately to portray Wallace with one. Others were displeased with the overall design, and agreed with Macgillivray that it was not enough of a tribute, 'what an opportunity is being thrown away of gaining two magnificent statues, heroic in character, truly representative of our great Patriots!'[208] Others, however, felt it was the perfect location, 'a more honourable place could not be found, and the setting and background are ideal – at the gateway leading to the shrine of our own dead heroes.'[209] Others thought the scheme should be abandoned altogether, 'a thousand times better that the project should lie dormant for another generation than the present scheme proceeded with.'[210] Clearly, there was a lot of disagreement amongst the public about the best way to commemorate these men in the capital. These letters also show the high level of public engagement with the design process. To what extent the public's opinions were considered

[206] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle,' RF2/14.
[207] 'Letters from Readers (J.Patrick Smith),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 10 Jan 1928.
[208] 'Letters from Readers (citizen),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 11 Jan 1928.
[209] 'Letters from Readers (William Davidson),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 14 Jan 1928.
[210] 'Letters from Readers (Alban),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 12 Jan 1928.

is difficult to say, but they were certainly able to express these opinions through writing letters to the *Scotsman*.

The debates surrounding these statues suggests they were seen in a more national sense than many of the acts of commemoration in this thesis. Since the statues were in such a prominent place in the capital there was a sense they would represent Scottish views of Wallace and Bruce, which helps to explain why some people were concerned whether they were enough of a memorial to these men. The language used is also very telling. Words like national heroes, patriots, valour, and courage were all used to describe these men in the various correspondences surrounding the statues. Similar words were also used to describe contemporary men, and to make judgements about their loyalties, such as when Macgillivray accused Stirling-Maxwell Bart of not being patriotic, as he was not supporting a grander plan for the statues. Though the role of locality in commemoration is a central feature of this thesis, the Wallace and Bruce statues at Edinburgh Castle show how acts of commemoration can also appeal to national identities. Despite this, a sense of local identity is also present in the debates, such as in Macgillivray's disdain for Edinburgh Council for not contributing money, or in the suggestion that Glasgow should pay for a Wallace statue because he was from the west of Scotland. It is also noteworthy that despite the many calls for a more significant national act of commemoration dedicated to these men, it was not deemed appropriate for them to be placed outside the new National War Memorial. Whatever their popularity, it did not supersede the recent events of the First World War.

The next case study is somewhat unusual as it does not commemorate the exploits of either Wallace or Bruce. It is dedicated to Alexander III, who was King of Scotland in the later part of the thirteenth-century until his death near Kinghorn in 1286. The monument marks the evident location where the king was thrown from his horse, eventually succumbing to his injuries [Figure 3.25]. The monument was erected over several months in 1887, yet another monument built during this crucial decade, and it was built upon an existing stone that memorialised the location. It was scheduled to be finished in June

1887, 'on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee.'[211] It is interesting that marking the location of the death of a former king of Scotland was seen to also commemorate Queen Victoria, though popular opinion is that she contributed to the subscription campaign for the memorial, as was relatively common for her at the time.[212] This is a clear example of how promoting Scottish history could be seen as strengthening the Union during this time.

Figure 3.25: King Alexander III memorial, Kinghorn (Geograph)

The inscription on the monument calls Alexander III 'the last of Scotland's Celtic kings.' This reflects new questions about Scottish ethnicity that were debated in the nineteenth century. As Hammond has argued, 'to nineteenth-century antiquarians, and many others besides, progress was inextricably linked to race.'[213] The question centred around whether Scotland was traditionally more Teutonic or Celtic. Teutonists felt Scots should 'be seen in a positive and progressive light.'[214] People believed this described the Lowland population, connecting them with the Anglo-Saxon population of

[211] 'Monument to King Alexander III,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen), 5 Mar 1887.
[212] K. Traynor, 'Alexander III Monument, Kinghorn,' Geograph, accessed 14 Jun 2016, http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2370708.
[213] M.H. Hammond, (2006) 'Ethnicity and the Writing of Medieval Scottish history,' *Scottish Historical Review* 85, 3.
[214] Hammond, 'Ethnicity and Writing,' 4.

England.[215] Celticists, on the other hand, favoured the more traditional 'Romantic notions of nature,' and were generally associated with the Highlands.[216] Kidd has shown how this debate created divides within Scotland, particularly the tendency to see Lowlanders as Teutonic and Highlanders as Celtic.[217] The divide was also not finite, as having a 'touch of the Celt', was seen as exotic but unthreatening.[218] It is important to point out that these labels were often imposed on populations, rather than being a product of self-identification, as Kidd has argued, 'Highlandism and the cult of tartanry…were remarkably disengaged from the political aspirations of Highland Scotland.'[219] The racial distinctions of nineteenth-century Scotland had significant implications. The concept of these two distinct races became tied to Scotland's religious patriotism surrounding Presbyterianism.[220] As Kidd and MacLeod have shown, the largely Teutonic sense of identity associated with the Free Church, helped to reinforce unionism and, as Kidd suggests, a wider, 'more self-confident nationhood.'[221] McCrone has emphasised the seriousness of these racial distinctions saying it had 'deadly serious import: whether or not Scotland had the ideological right to a distinct existence from England.'[222] This question affected how history was approached during the period of this study. Traditionally, Celticism was associated with the spread of Highlandism in the nineteenth century. Morrison has illustrated how Scots embraced Highlandism partially because 'of the perceived erosion of Scottish identity.'[223] Therefore, Highlandism is another example of how the growing interest in Scottish history manifested itself in different ways. Though it did not often impact

[215] C. Kidd, (2003) 'Race, Empire and the Limits of Nineteenth Century Scottish Nationhood,' *The Historical Journal* 46, 876.
[216] Hammond, 'Ethnicity and Writing,' 4.
[217] Kidd, '*Strange Death of Scottish History* revisited,' 93.
[218] M. Pittock, (1999) *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 11.
[219] Kidd, 'Race, Empire,' 876.
[220] Kidd, 'Race, Empire,' 877.
[221] Kidd, 'Race, Empire,' 877; MacLeod, *The Second Disruption.*
[222] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 258.
[223] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 111.

commemorations of the Wars of Independence, Highlandism will be revisited in the painting section of Chapter Five.

In his 2006 article, Matthew Hammond says 'all parties' accepted the idea a key Teutonic shift occurred in Scotland with the reign of Malcolm III and St Margaret in the eleventh century.[224] Clearly, this small town in Fife was not included in 'all parties,' as they pointed to Alexander III's death in 1286 as a watershed moment. As previously mentioned, Murray Pittock has argued that since the end of the eighteenth century having an aspect of Celtic ancestry has been seen as desirable.[225] Therefore, perhaps they were simply using the contemporary popularity of Celtic associations to bring recognition to Alexander and his reign.

The Kinghorn monument shows how communities used local connections to the Wars of Independence to become involved in the commemorative process that was taking place, in another example of municipal locality. Kinghorn's best connection to the conflict was through Alexander III's death, so that is what they commemorated. It also illustrates how ties can be drawn across history through commemorations, since this monument dedicated to a medieval Scottish king was used as a way to mark the jubilee of the reigning queen of the British Empire.

The next case study comes from Elderslie, the disputed birthplace of Wallace [Figure 3.26]. Anniversary celebrations in this area began in the late-nineteenth century when annual parades on the 23rd of August, the anniversary of Wallace's execution, began to be held.[226] In the early twentieth century, during a popular time of monument building in Scotland, there began to be calls for a Wallace memorial to be built in Elderslie.[227] At the first committee meeting in January 1908, there were 'letters indicating support from across the country.'[228] The subscription campaign for the monument was promoted across

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[224] Hammond, 'Ethnicity and the Writing of Medieval Scottish history,' 10.
[225] Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image,* 11.
[226] Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries,' 117.
[227] 'The Wallace Elderslie Memorial,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 16 Jan 1908.
[228] 'The Proposed Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 24 Jan 1908.

Scotland 'with the object of giving all Scotsmen the privilege of honouring the memory of one to whom they owe their national liberty.'[229] This again reveals the interplay between local monuments and national interests. In the same article it lists the people who had donated so far and indicated the amount each donated.[230] This was a relatively common practice, which shows the social role commemorations played. Not only could other members of the public see that someone contributed to a subscription campaign, but also the level of your financial commitment.

Figure 3.26: Wallace memorial, Elderslie (Geograph)

Unusually, the committee for the monument was formed by the London Renfrewshire Association, and consisted of members who were all living in London.[231] However, the committee appealed directly to a Scottish audience during the subscription campaign, though with a notable unionist slant. In an appeal published in the *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, A. Skene Smith said, 'the highest and most lasting spirit of Imperialism for Britain will spring from the national patriotism of Scotland, England, and the other divisions of the great British people, now welded together into the greatest Empire the world has ever

[229] 'Elderslie Wallace Memorial,' *The Times* (London), 11 Apr 1908.
[230] 'Elderslie Wallace Memorial,' 11 Apr 1908.
[231] 'Elderslie Wallace Memorial,' 11 Apr 1908.

seen.'[232] Another member of the committee, W.A. Bowie, wrote a letter to *The Courier and Argus* on Burns Night to appeal for money, 'the Burns celebrations seem to me to present a very fitting opportunity at which with every appropriateness references can be made to the proposed birthplace memorials to Sir William Wallace at Elderslie.'[233] Andrew Carnegie donated £250 to the memorial fund, on the condition the reminder of the £3000 goal be raised first.[234]

By 1912 the money for the monument was in place. The Laird of Elderslie, A. Hagart Speirs, donated the land.[235] The Scottish connections of the monument was a focus of the newspaper coverage, likely as a way to counterbalance the English residence of the committee. When describing the designers an article in the *Aberdeen Daily Journal* said they were from London but were 'west of Scotland men.'[236] It also notes that Aberdeen granite would be used and the monument would feature Scottish symbols.[237] The public was again allowed into the process through viewing the proposed design, which was hung at the Royal Scottish Academy.[238] The design featured a six-sided pedestal, which was entwined with a wreath that symbolized Wallace's sword.[239] Bronze panels were to be placed around the base of the column, but they were added after the First World War.[240] These featured Wallace becoming Guardian, the Battle of Stirling Bridge, Wallace meeting Bruce after Falkirk, and Wallace raising a Scottish standard.[241] Again, the likely apocryphal meeting with Bruce is included, as a means of reinforcing the relationship between these two men.

The Wallace Memorial at Elderslie is another example of historic locality, as it commemorates the location of Wallace's birth. It is also an example of

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[232] 'Letters to the Editor,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 11 Apr 1908.
[233] 'Letters to Editor,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 25 Jan 1909.
[234] 'Elderslie Wallace Memorial,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 25 Jul 1908.
[235] 'Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 13 May 1912.
[236] 'Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' 13 May 1912.
[237] 'Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' 13 May 1912.
[238] 'Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' 13 May 1912.
[239] 'Wallace Memorial at Elderslie,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 25 Sep 1912.
[240] 'William Wallace: Annual Demonstration at Elderslie,' *The Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 27 Aug 1934.
[241] 'William Wallace: Annual Demonstration at Elderslie,' 27 Aug 1934.

municipal locality, in that it helped the town reinforce that Elderslie was Wallace's birthplace. This is a disputed claim, but the memorial, and the other commemorative acts such as the anniversary celebrations and the veneration of the tree, helped reinforce to the public the idea that Elderslie was his birthplace. The memorial also displays the importance of the Scottishness of these monuments. Likely because the committee was based in London, all possible Scottish connections to the memorial were highlighted. It suggests this Scottish connection was important to the people who were potentially donating to the subscription campaign.

The final two monuments were each raised by the Earl of Buchan, who was discussed earlier in this chapter. They are the earliest examples of monuments dedicated to any element of the Wars of Independence. A 6.6 metre statue of Wallace was placed on Buchan's own lands at Dryburgh in 1814 [Figure 3.27], the year of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[242] It has caused controversy since the day it was built. The statue was designed by John Smith 'exactly from the authentic portrait painted of him [Wallace] in water colours, during his residence in France.'[243] The authenticity of this painting is questioned, however. In addition, the statue is not known as the most skilful example of sculpture. Walter Scott is said to have despised it.[244] More than a century later, people writing letters to the *Scotsman* in reference to the Wallace and Bruce statues at Edinburgh Castle were still referring to it. For example, on 12 January 1928 George A Fothergill wrote a letter suggesting the Wallace statue at the castle should take no inspiration from the one at Dryburgh, however, 'too many Scotsmen have already poked fun at this monstrosity for me to also pick it to pieces.'[245] He claimed the design was so disconcerting his horse tried to buck him off.[246] A response was sent on 18 January from Geo. Hope Trust that claimed this was perhaps what the sculptor intended, 'with all its [the statue's] defects…it has qualities…that are well

[242] Morton, 'Efficacious Patriot,' 242.
[243] 'Private Correspondance,' *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), 15 May 1817.
[244] Morton, 'Efficacious Patriot,' 231.
[245]'Letters from Readers (George A Fothergill),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 12 Jan 1928.
[246] Letters from Readers (George A Fothergill),' 12 Jan 1928.

calculated to impress us with the power, the courage, and the martial heroism of our national patriot. That it has frightened a super-sensitive horse and its rider is a compliment at least to some of its obvious distinctions.'[247]

Figure 3.27: Wallace statue, Dryburgh (Geograph)

It is not clear why Buchan chose to build a statue of Wallace, beyond his general interest in the Scottish historical past. In the Earl's papers the only mention of the statue is in a letter to the Countess of Buchan, from R.G. Heblary of Plymouth, on 30 August 1814.[248] Heblary mentions that James Berry was 'delighted to see in the Star paper An Act of the ceremony at Dryburg [*sic*] in honour of W.Wallace.'[249] Presumably this act was part of the unveiling of the statue.

The final monuments are a pair, and they were placed on Drumshoreland Muir in 1784. This is outside of the confines of this study, but they are the first monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence, so they are worthy of a brief discussion. The first was a stone dedicated to William Wallace and was placed by Buchan [Figure 3.28]. It looks similar to a tombstone, with a simple

[247] 'Letters from Readers (Geo. Hope Trust),' *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 18 Jan 1928.
[248] NRS: 'Earl of Buchan papers,' GD247/27/69 Bundle 69/1.
[249] NRS: 'Earl of Buchan papers,' GD247/27/69 Bundle 69/1.

engraving on it.[250] The other stone was placed by his wife, the Countess of Buchan, and commemorated Sir Simon Fraser, a commander of Bruce's who was captured and executed in 1306 [Figure 3.29].[251] Engraved on the stone is the motivation behind its erection, 'Margaret Countess of Buchan dedicated this forest to her ancestor Sir Simon Fraser.'[252] This is the first example of ancestral locality, though it will be much more prominent in the next chapter. It is noteworthy that the connection with Simon Fraser was not only the Countess of Buchan's inspiration for the stone, but that it was also engraved directly onto it. In contrast, the stone dedicated to Wallace makes no mention of Buchan himself.

Figure 3.28: Wallace stone, Drumshoreland Muir (panoramio)

Figure 3.29: Simon Fraser stone, Drumshoreland Muir (commons.wikimedia)

[250] CANMORE, 'Wallace Stone,' ID 87363, https://canmore.org.uk/site/87363/wallace-stone.
[251] CANMORE, 'Almondell, Sir Simon Fraser Monument,' ID 347394, https://canmore.org.uk/site/347394/almondell-sir-simon-fraser-monument.
[252] CANMORE, 'Almondell, Sir Simon Fraser Monument.'

Monuments are some of the clearest evidence for commemoration of the Wars of Independence. They are built to be permanent and noticeable, though they are not always either of these. They are also a fruitful type of commemorative act to study as the process of their creation is often traceable – the design process is often recorded in newspapers, and occasionally through private letters or subscription campaign paraphernalia. Monuments reveal that though the public was often asked to help pay for them, they were not generally allowed into the decision process. Members of the public could still make their voices heard, however, in letters to newspapers. These monuments also show how local histories are incorporated into the national narrative about the Wars. Historic and municipal locality are particularly prevalent amongst monuments, though personal locality could also be seen in some of the motivations for creating these commemorative acts. What is difficult, however, is determining whether these monuments actually meant anything to members of the public once they were unveiled. The monument in Ceres stands beside the location of the annual Ceres Games, so it seems likely that it continued to hold meaning given the contemporary connections of the events it was commemorating. Similarly, given the role of the Elderslie monument in political campaigns, as will be discussed further in the following chapter, this monument continued to hold meaning for local people. For other monuments, however, such as at Kinghorn or at Edinburgh Castle, the lasting impact of these monuments on the psyche of the local population is unclear. Perhaps monuments need ongoing commemorations surrounding them to stop them relevant to the public.

Landmark Objects

Landmark objects refer to features of the environment that are traditionally associated with a historical event or person. They are on the fringe of the traditional idea of monuments, as they are public commemorations, but they are often part of the natural landscape rather than the built environment. In his 1995 book *Landscape and Memory*, Simon Shama argued that 'landscapes

are culture before they are nature…once a certain idea of landscape, a myth or vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar war of muddling categories…of becoming, in fact, part of the scene.'[253] Landmark objects are one way to understand this phenomenon of a natural environment becoming a cultural touchstone.

Landmark objects are more difficult to categorise and study than more traditional monuments because they are generally based on local folklore or traditions. In this way, they are all examples of historic locality, as they are tied to an event that apparently occurred at that place. The question of historical accuracy is also at the forefront of these objects as their authenticity is often questioned. In terms of this thesis, whether Wallace or Bruce ever rested against a specific rock or spoke to a spider in a cave is less important than the fact that people in the nineteenth century thought that they did, and even attached these stories to specific locations in Scotland. These sites became places of memory, and thus played a similar role to monuments in terms of being sites of commemoration.

To give a sense of the elements of the landscape that are commemorated, Figure 3.30 is a list of all the landmark objects associated with Wallace from *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (*NSA*) in 1845. The first (or 'Old') *Statistical Account*, was published between 1791 and 1799, and was led by Sir John Sinclair, MP for Caithness.[254] It contained detailed reports from all of the 938 parishes in Scotland, sent in by ministers.[255] A second edition, the *New Statistical Account* was published as a complete set of fifteen volumes in 1845.[256] Though both versions of the *Statistical Accounts* have the tendency to contain a lot of bias due to the nature of their compilation, they are one of the best means by which to access landmark objects. For example, in the *NSA* there are twenty-three entries related to Wallace that could be considered landmark

[253] Simon Shama, (1995) *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).
[254] The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845, 'An Introduction to the Statistical Accounts of Scotland,' http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/home.
[255] The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845, 'An Introduction to the Statistical Accounts of Scotland.'
[256] The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845, 'An Introduction to the Statistical Accounts of Scotland.'

objects. The most common are towers (four), trees (four), caves (three), and seats (two). These are often located in the 'Antiquities' section, which is about historic elements of the local environment. For example, the entry that concerns 'Wallace's stone' in Polmont states,

> On the hill behind Redding is a stone, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Wallace's Stone, and, if tradition can be credited, commemorative of the place where the famous Sir William Wallace, in consequence of his quarrel with Sir John Stewart, another of the Scottish chiefs, viewed the Battle of Falkirk, from the site of which it is distant about two miles.[257]

It is interesting that this entry specifically mentions that the neighbourhood knew the stone by the name of Wallace's Stone, seeming to imply that it is not well-known beyond the immediate area. Perhaps this is because the *NSA* goes on to say this is indeed an inaccurate story, 'but, whatever be the credit attached to the tradition, the stone is obviously of recent origin, and, on examination, will disappoint the antiquary.'[258] The entries nearly always dispute the historical accuracy of these objects in some way, which makes it all the more interesting that the tradition is included in the *NSA* in the first place. It appears the myths were included only to be debunked.

[257] J. Gordon, ed., (1845) *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. eight (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons), 195.
[258] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 195.

Name	Location
Wallace's barrel (cave)	Lanark, South Lanarkshire
Wallace's castle	Banff, Aberdeenshire
Wallace's cave	Hawthornden, Midlothian
Wallace's cave	Lesmahagow, South Lanarkshire
Wallace's cave	Torphichen, West Lothian
Wallace's chair	Bonington, South Lanarkshire
Wallace's house	Paisley, Renfrewshire
Wallace's larder	Ardrossan, North Ayrshire
Wallace's leap (rock)	Dumbarton, West Dunbartonshire
Wallace's knowe	Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire
Wallace's oak	Paisley, Renfrewshire
Wallace's oak	Torwood, Falkirk
Wallace's seat	Biggar, South Lanarkshire
Wallace's seat	Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire
Wallace's stone	Polmont, Falkirk
Wallace tower	Auchterhouse, Angus
Wallace tower	Ayr, South Ayrshire
Wallace tower	Roxburgh, Scottish Borders
Wallace's tower	Kirkmichael, Dumfries and Galloway
Wallace's tree	Blairs, Falkirk
Wallace's trench	Perth, Perth and Kinross
Wallace's well	Biggar, South Lanarkshire
Wallace's yew	Paisley, Renfrewshire

Figure 3.30: Excerpt of Index, *The New Statistical Account*, 1845[259]

Another example from the same edition of the *NSA* outlines the logic the author used to determine the inaccuracy of 'Wallace's tree,' from Blairs, Stirlingshire,

> There was, however, 50 years ago, a remarkable oak in this neighbourhood on the lands of Blairs, two miles north of Larbert. It was called Wallace's tree…The tree had been long hollow. The capacity of the hollow might be such as to contain a man or two. As the time when Wallace lived was about 500 years before 1794, and the lifetime of a very old oak may be considered to be not above 500 years, it follows that the tree, if it existed in his time, must have been then very young, and therefore, it had not at that time formed a large and hollow trunk in which Wallace might conceal himself, as the popular story asserted he did.[260]

Though considerable efforts were taken to show the inaccuracy of these objects, it may have also inadvertently reinforced the myths. The *NSA* was the first time

[259] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 141.
[260] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 349.

many of these stories were widely shared, and many of these landmark objects are still well-known today, such as Wallace's tree, despite their known inaccuracies.

Much like the built monuments, mapping these landmark objects can reveal some interesting trends. Figure 3.31 plots the above list of locations associated with Wallace from the 1845 edition of the *NSA* on a map. There are clear clusters of objects in South Lanarkshire (five), Renfrewshire (five), and Falkirk (three). All of these places also have a strong association with Wallace. He is said to have started his rebellion in South Lanarkshire by killing the local sheriff, his disputed birthplace is Elderslie in Renfrewshire, and the place of his defeat in battle is Falkirk. Therefore, whatever the *NSA* may say about the accuracy of these claims, the locations in which these objects appear do follow historical tradition. This is another example of how historic locality is important in commemoration – whether or not these historical associations are accurate, the locations are generally known to be places where Wallace likely would have been.

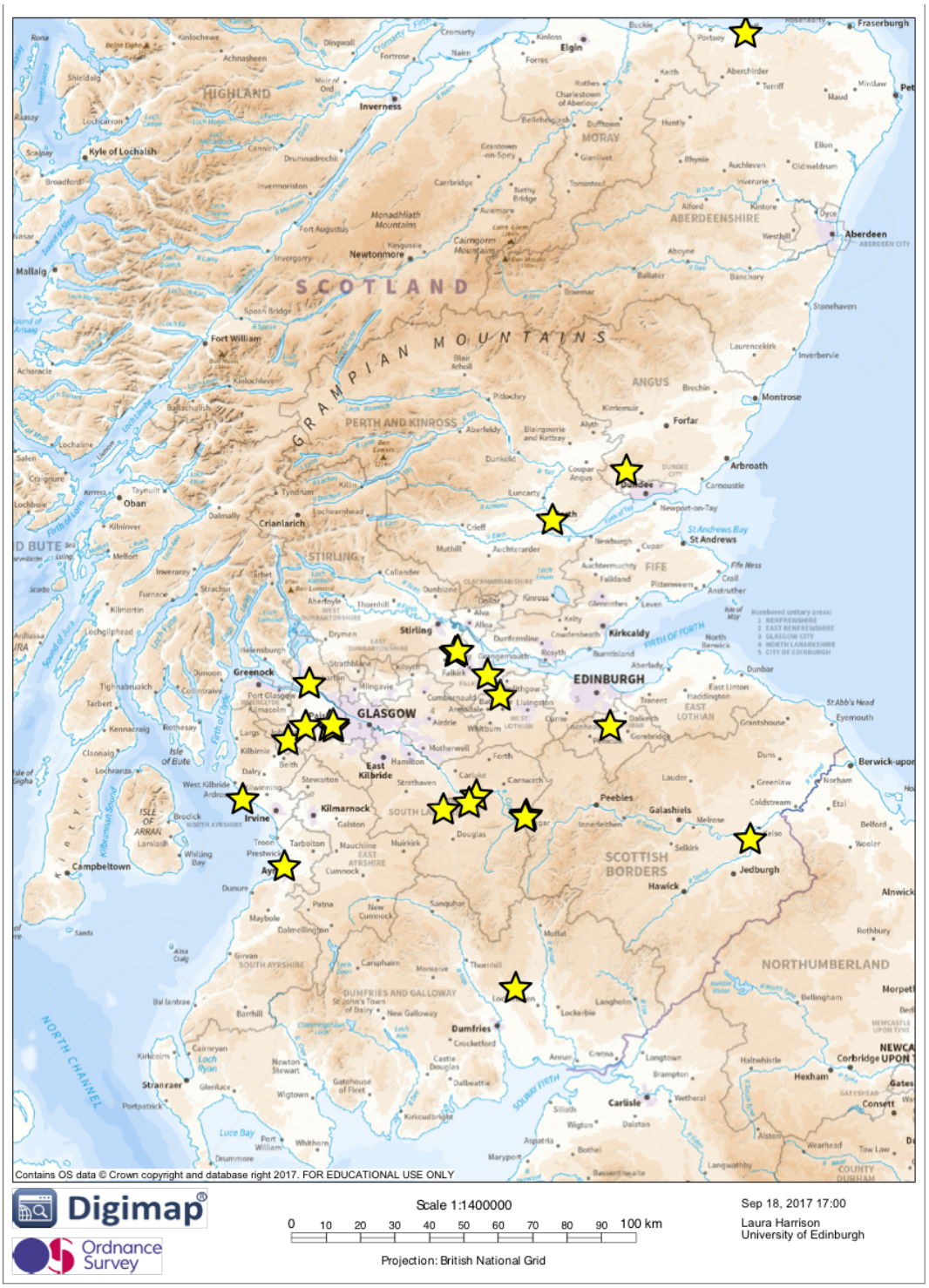

Figure 3.31: Map of landmark objects mentioned in *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1845

To take a specific example from the map, two of the four trees the *NSA* mentions, 'Wallace's oak' and 'Wallace's yew' are located in Paisley. These two trees are known to have existed in Elderslie, the disputed birthplace of Wallace. They are located on the same street as the aforementioned Wallace Memorial.[261] The yew still stands, though the oak fell in the nineteenth century. Both of these trees have variously been described as being planted by Wallace, or from the seeds of a tree he planted, or as another hiding place of his. On the same street, the *NSA* 'states that a tenement near the west end of Elderslie is often pointed to as the birthplace of Wallace, if he was born here it would have been in an earlier building on the same site.'[262] The street has become so associated with Wallace it is now named Wallace Avenue.[263] This concentration of commemorations related to Wallace have helped to publicly reinforce that Elderslie is his 'true' birthplace. This is another way that towns could engage in municipal locality, in using commemorative acts to reinforce a popular story about the town.

As a comparison to the *NSA*, a 1998 edition of Blind Hary's *Wallace* from Luath Press lists a compilation of eighty-three Wallace place names, which were taken from current OS maps. Most popular amongst the names are towers (eight), caves (four), and camps (three). There are also a number of locations given that are named for Wallace, including Wallacetown (five), Wallaceton (two), Wallacehall (one), Wallace Park (one), and Wallace Wood (one). These are from twenty-first century OS maps, so they are not a perfect comparison to the above list of *NSA* entries, but it does follow much of the same patterns as the *NSA*. Perhaps most surprising are the locations on Orkney (Wallace Geo) and Shetland (Wallacetown). An Ordnance Survey Name Book from 1879-80 describes Wallace Geo as 'a creek on the south coast of Shapinsay a short distance south of How Hill and 3/8ths. of a mile south west of Haraldsgarth.'[264] David Balfour, whose family controlled the island in the eighteenth and

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[261] CANMORE, 'Paisley, Elderslie, Main Road, Wallace Memorial,' ID 247279, http://canmore.org.uk/site/247279.
[262] CANMORE. 'Paisley, Elderslie, Main Road, Wallace Memorial.'
[263] The use of naming as a form of commemoration is a potential next course of study.
[264] Scotland's Places: 'Ordnance Survey Name Books, 1879-1880,' vol. 18, OS1/23/18/142 OS1/23/18/142.

nineteenth centuries, was an antiquary, and was responsible for the transformation of Cliffdale House into Balfour Castle.[265] It is possible that he named the area, though it does not appear he had a strong affiliation with Wallace. Wallacetown on Shetland currently consists of two houses. To what extent either of these places are actually associated with Wallace is, of course, questionable, particularly given that these islands were not under the control of Scotland during the Wars of Independence.

Bruce also has a number of associated landmark objects, though far fewer than Wallace. In the same 1845 volume of the *NSA* Bruce is associated with six objects. Generally, the landmark objects associated with Bruce are very similar to that of Wallace, including caves, trees, and named locations. One of these, the King's Hall, is located in Rannoch, 'a sequestered and beautiful romantic spot on the side of the Tummel.'[266] Bruce hid here 'for a considerable time' following a defeat in Argyll.[267] Another example comes from the 1793 edition of the *Old Statistical Account*, which describes a cave associated with Bruce,

> In Craigrostan there are several caves in which lawless people used to skulk and hide themselves; those are known by the names of the most remarkable persons who used to frequent them. There is one commonly known by the name of King Robert's cave…Bruce, after his defeat at Dalrec, in the west end of Strathfillan, passed that day…Night coming on, when he arrived at this cave, he slept there.[268]

Unlike the entries for Wallace, there is no indication from the author that this story is false.

Another landmark object associated with Bruce is a combination between a built monument and a landmark object. Bruce's Stone at Glentrool marks the site of Bruce's victory over English troops in 1307, which occurred the year after Bruce was inaugurated. An engraved stone was placed on the

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[265] D. Barker, (2004) 'Shapinsay: the transformation of an island society, 1830-1875,' PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh), 106.
[266] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 552.
[267] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 552.
[268] J. Sinclair, (1793) *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 9 (Edinburgh: William Creech), 14.

north side of the loch in 1929, which commemorates the site from which Bruce began the battle.[269] This is an example of a monument being placed that commemorates the site of a landmark object. A similar example is the Kinghorn monument, which marks the place of Alexander III's death. The monument was apparently placed on an existing stone, which must have acted as a landmark object in order for people to have associated this stone with Alexander in the nineteenth century. This is another example of how fine the delineations can be between types of commemorations, and why it is important to consider connections between them, rather than as discrete groups.

There are also a number of landmark objects associated with other figures from the Wars of the Independence. For example, the 1845 *NSA* describes Randolph Field near Stirling, named for Bruce's nephew Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.[270] It outlined a skirmish Randolph won on the first day of the Battle of Bannockburn and said, 'from this decisive conflict, which had a powerful influence in leading to the great result of the general action of the following day…obtained the name Randolph Field.'[271] There is a similar example associated with James Douglas, Bruce's most trusted ally, which takes the form of a camp at Lintalee near Jedburgh, which the *NSA* says was mentioned in Barbour's *The Bruce*.[272] The account says the camp 'was formed by Douglas for the defence of the borders during the absence of Bruce in Ireland.'[273]

This reference to Barbour's *The Bruce* suggests an interesting source of inquiry – to what extent are landmark objects influenced by the earliest contemporary sources? By comparing the 1845 list from the *NSA* to Hary's *Wallace*, I found that many of the places on the list are mentioned in the text, including Biggar, Torwood, Lanark, and Dumbarton. However, there are very few examples of the landmark objects themselves being included in Hary's text. Perhaps it was because of Hary and other similar sources that the locations

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[269] Inscription: 'In loyal remembrance of Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, whose victory in this glen over an English force in March, 1307, opened the campaign of independence which be brought to a decisive close at Bannockburn on 24 June 1314.'
[270] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 403.
[271] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 403.
[272] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 12.
[273] Gordon, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland,* 12.

became associated with Wallace, since once the places were mentioned in the text the objects in those environments took on tales associated with these heroes. Intriguingly, one of the few examples of commemorative acts that is definitively mentioned in *The Wallace* is one of the monuments. Sir John de Graeme's tomb in Falkirk is described in Book XI,

> Then in Falkirk prepares his sepulchre,
> And does in his noble corpse in pomp inter.
> On his tomb-stone, the following epitaph
> They wrote, which put the South'ron in a chafe.
>
> Of mind and courage stout,
> Wallace's true Achates;
> Here lies Sir John the Graham,
> Fell'd by the English baties.[274]

A memorial drinking fountain and a later cairn have both been erected in Falkirk to commemorate the resting place of Graeme.

Landmark objects are not, of course, only associated with the Wars of Independence. Beiner identified one in relation to the Irish Rebellion of 1798, in which 'Humbert's Stone' in Kilcummin, county Mayo, became the site of commemoration due to local memory that the invaders had landed nearby.[275] Much like the landmark objects associated with the Wars of Independence, Humbert's Stone was marked on the first OS map for Northern Ireland, and it indicated the spot was where the 'French landed in 1798.'[276] There are also many similar Scottish examples, such as several Highland locations associated with Charles Edward Stuart's flight following the Culloden, or locations in the Scottish borders associated with the Covenanters.

Landmark objects are almost entirely based on historic locality, in addition to folklore and popular traditions. Though it is difficult to determine the historical veracity of the vast majority of these examples, they do form an important aspect of commemoration, particularly local commemoration. They also represent much of what the public knows about the Wars of Independence. For example, though the story of Bruce being inspired by a spider in a cave is

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[274] W. Hamilton, (1998) *Blind Harry's Wallace* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited)
[275] Beiner, *Remembering the Year*, 237.
[276] Beiner, *Remembering the Year*, 238.

likely apocryphal and invented by Walter Scott, the fact that a real cave has become associated with that story and that people take the time to visit that cave and retell the story gives it meaning when studying commemorations. Landmark objects are examples of a type of commemoration where significance is privileged over historical accuracy.

Conclusion

Monuments are a useful source from which to view commemoration of the Wars of Independence for several reasons. They are one of the more obvious and lasting forms of commemoration. They also illustrate several different types of locality, particularly historic, personal and municipal. Monuments also, however, reveal when national influences were important, whether by showing a monument was distinctly Scottish, such as with Elderslie, or showing how they can represent a whole nation, like the statues at Edinburgh Castle. The period of this study is also a popular time for monument building, and it is interesting to note that people continued to build monuments to the Wars of Independence during the post-First World War building surge of war memorials. This is indicative of the importance that the figures and events of the Wars had on the public – they were willing to give their money, time, and expertise to create many lasting memorials to them hundreds of years later. Landmark objects are a useful comparison to these built monuments, as they show how aspects of the natural environment can be appropriated to become a type of monument. They also show the role of accuracy in historic locality, in that they are nearly always located in areas with a known connection to people or events from the Wars of Independence, which help add to their authenticity.

It is noteworthy that nearly all of the types of monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence are decorative. There are virtually no utilitarian memorials, such as hospitals, village halls and other municipal buildings, though these are often used to memorialise other aspects of the past. Perhaps this reflects the significant amount of time between the events of the Wars of the present, so they do not seem as relevant as the contemporary conflicts to which

utilitarian memorials often are dedicated. This attitude can also be seen with the monuments to Wallace and Bruce at Edinburgh Castle, where it was deemed inappropriate to place them on the National War Memorial, despite the memorial apparently being for all conflicts in Scottish history. Instead, they were installed in the walls and wreaths were placed outside the War Memorial.

3.3: Conclusion

This chapter has considered commemorations that are part of the built environment, from building adornments like stained-glass and murals, to purpose-built monuments, to landmark objects that take on monumental importance. Several of the themes that run through this thesis have been introduced. A preoccupation with historical accuracy could be seen in Hole's focus on accuracy in his decorations in the Central Hall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, as well as in the *NSA*'s discussions of the landmark objects. In addition, the various roles of the public were visible, particularly in the design process of the commemorative acts. For example, there are a number of instances where the public were either able to view the designs of a commemoration or were demanding to. They then could write letters expressing their opinions about the plans. The public could also contribute to subscription campaigns, and these lists were often made public. The public also impacted the role of landmark objects in by continuing to commemorate aspects of the natural environment. Finally, the importance of local connections in commemoration has been shown. Commemorations that use historic locality celebrate and reinforce direct connections between the past and the present. They are built to memorialise the history of a location. Personal locality illustrates how contemporary connections can be just as important, if not more-so, than historic ones. These commemorations can also lead to new connections, such as the Wallace statue in Aberdeen, which has given Wallace a connection to that area because the statue has been there for more than a century. Finally, some examples of municipal locality were introduced, to consider the ways in which towns used and benefitted from commemorative acts. In some cases,

such as in Elderslie, a town was reinforcing notions about its history, while in others they were joining a wider commemorative tradition in order to bring recognition to the town, such as in Ceres or Kinghorn. There was also a sense that town should be engaging in commemorative acts, such as questions surrounding why Edinburgh council was not contributing to the statues at Edinburgh Castle.

This chapter also revealed how these commemorations in the built environment, perhaps more than any other type of commemorative act in this thesis, were part of a culture of commemoration in Scotland. Monuments, statues, murals, stained glass, and landmark objects were being created or observed to many different events, which collectively reinforces the role of the Scottish historical past in people's minds in this period. They not only wanted to learn more about history, but they wanted to spend time and money celebrating it and ensuring that the memory would live on.

Coleman has identified monuments as a type of 'passive' commemoration, and without ongoing commemorative acts, they 'have a habit of descending into, at best, banal nationalism.'[277] This is certainly the case with many of the monuments to the Wars of Independence in Scotland, where they have largely become part of the background of the built environment as they are largely out of context. As recent events surrounding confederate monuments in America and Soviet monuments in Eastern Europe have shown, however, commemorations in the built environment can and often are moved. These events have shown that views about commemorations can change over time, as was the case with places like the site of the Battle of Bannockburn, which took on new political meaning in the lead up to the Scottish Independence Referendum in September 2014.[278] An example of a monument in Scotland being a location for more active nationalism will follow in the next chapter.

[277] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 15-16.
[278] The 700th anniversary of the battle occurred at the end of June that year, less than three months from the date of the referendum. I attended the 'Bannockburn Live' event at the battle site and there were many 'yes' badges proudly displayed, as well as a few 'no' badges.

The commemorations of the built environment, particularly monuments, are by far the most popular type of commemorative act in the historiography, particularly in regard to war memorials. This chapter has considered how memorials to medieval wars were conceived of and built in the same period, and also the usefulness of considering monuments alongside other commemorations in the built environment in order to show the similarities and differences. For example, though Wallace and Bruce were the most popular subjects throughout the examples, different aspects of their life were commemorated, such as inspiring stories about Bruce in the landmark objects versus his traditional weaponry in the murals versus the battles he fought in the monuments. This reflects the wider aim of this thesis to consider various types of commemorations across time.

Chapter Four
Immaterial Commemorations – The Ceremony of Memory

This chapter focuses on the role of ceremony in commemoration. The first section is concerned with anniversaries, beginning with a consideration of anniversary culture as a whole in Scotland, and how it changed throughout this period. Case studies will then be used to consider different types of anniversary celebrations, including examples of how anniversaries impacted other types of commemoration. The second section focuses on the unveilings of some of the monuments outlined in the case studies in Chapter Three. These were an opportunity to display municipal locality, as well as to reinforce collective identity through the public nature of these events. There are examples throughout this chapter of how ceremony was used to form and perform identity within a society. This will largely be explored through the role of the upper classes, as they played a significant role in most of the ceremonies in this chapter. In many of these cases the ceremonies were public affairs, and therefore required the public to be 'willing participants in these acts of self-historicisation.'[1] However, this chapter will also reveal ways in which the public could be excluded from commemorative acts, particularly through ancestral locality.

4.1: Anniversaries

Anniversaries have long captured the interest of scholars, and much has been published recently in light of the centenary of the First World War. This enthusiasm for anniversaries is also shared by the public. There has been a high turnout to many of the centenary-related events, and interest in the various projects, such as the Tower of London poppy project, and the many popular Twitter accounts that discuss what was happening On This Day (#OTD) in history. We are clearly still very much a part of what Quinault has dubbed the

[1] T.G. Otte, (2018) 'Centenaries, self-historicization and the mobilization of the masses,' in *The Age of Anniversaries: The Cult of Commemoration, 1895-1925*, ed. T.G. Otte (London: Routledge), 2.

'cult of centenary.'[2] Quinault has traced the practice of celebrating historical anniversaries back to the ancient world.[3] In his article on the 'cult of the centenary,' Quinault discussed the modern rise of anniversary commemoration, and much of what he says coincides with what was occurring in Scotland for the Wars of Independence, though these were not, of course, centenary celebrations. Quinault maintains that one anniversary leads to another, and this is certainly evident in Scotland.[4] Anniversaries lend themselves particularly well to being copied as they occur every year. Though there is a critical mass for the number of monuments that could be built in one geographical area, anniversaries can continuously be celebrated. Quinault has also discussed how anniversaries could be seen as 'a barometer of contemporary esteem and reflected popular and elite attitudes to both the past and the present.'[5] Though he is careful to qualify this by saying that historically they were often not government-led – unlike much of the current First World War Centenary – but instead about 'local patriotism and commercial interest.'[6] This is also the case with many of the subsequent examples in this chapter. The people and events that were chosen for anniversary celebrations reflect popular trends in commemoration: Wallace, Bruce, and Bannockburn are all popular subjects for anniversaries. Quinault credits the public's growing interest in the past with the general rise in anniversary celebrations, which again has been a central feature of this thesis. Finlay has argued similarly, suggesting studying anniversaries is a way to gauge public interest in the past, particularly by examining which anniversaries are being celebrated.[7] In a more recent chapter, Quinault also suggests the rise in anniversaries had much to do with the growth of the newspaper industry in the nineteenth century, 'both the national and local press propagated public awareness of and interest in centenaries.'[8] This is also the

[2] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary.'
[3] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary', 303.
[4] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary', 321.
[5] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary', 303.
[6] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary', 322.
[7] Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries,' 108.
[8] R. Quinault, (2018) 'Political centenary commemorations in the early twentieth-century Britain,' in *The Age of Anniversaries: The Cult of Commemoration, 1895-1925*, ed. T.G. Otte (London: Routledge), 192.

case across most of the acts of commemoration in this thesis, as newspapers regularly reported on the progress of different commemorative acts dedicated to the Wars of Independence, which added to the public knowledge, and thus popularity, of the commemorations.

One aspect of Quinault's assessment of anniversaries that does not apply to the anniversary celebrations of the Wars of Independence is the timeline. He claims anniversaries were rare before 1850, and it was still later before events farther back than one hundred years were memorialised.[9] In 1814, however, 15,000 people gathered outside of Stirling to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[10] Quinault is speaking broadly and focusing mainly on European examples, but it is clear some anniversaries of medieval battles were being celebrated earlier. Thanks to the antiquarian efforts discussed in Chapter Two, medieval battles were also in vogue in Scotland relatively early compared with many other places, which may account for the popularity of the 1814 Bannockburn anniversary.

In the introduction to a recent edited volume that considers the relationship between the commemorations of Bannockburn and the First World War, Gill Plain has argued that Scotland is particularly fond of battle anniversaries, as it is 'a nation whose history might justifiably be described as redolent with anniversaries.'[11] In a chapter in the same volume, Carol Symes has considered anniversary celebrations as a form of nation building, 'nations who had lost the bid for statehood in the realignments of the modern era were turning to medieval battlefields for meaning and inspiration.'[12] This does not entirely describe Scotland, given that the Union is an early modern event, however, the process of building a Scottish identity in the nineteenth century meant that a comparable use of the past to explain the present was taking place.

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[9] Quinault, 'Cult of the Centenary,' 303, 309.
[10] T.C. Smout, (1986) *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (London: Collins), 236.
[11] G. Plain, (2017) 'Introduction: Anniversary Culture and the Legacy of Bannockburn,' in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. G. Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press), xiv.
[12] C. Symes, (2017) 'Medieval Battlefields and National Narratives,' in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press), 85.

Several authors have made similar arguments.[13] Recently, Quinault has also considered the role of anniversaries in politics, and he quoted Benedetto Croce in saying 'all history is contemporary history,' by which he is suggesting that anniversaries are only popular when they are seen as relevant to the public.[14] He also returned to the idea of centenaries to suggest that while one may reason one hundred years would allow for objective consideration of past events, in reality 'current political considerations largely determined the character and the attention received by these centennial commemorations.'[15] Despite a much larger temporal distance from the Wars of Independence, there is a similar phenomenon in Scotland. On the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn in 2014 an estimated 20,000 people attended the celebrations at the battle site, many wearing badges that displayed their vote in the upcoming Scottish independence referendum. The medieval battle between the kingdoms of England and Scotland felt relevant to many of the people at that moment because they were considering constitutional change seven centuries later. There may have been a different public feeling had the anniversary occurred in a different political climate.

Anniversary celebrations and ceremonies often function alongside other acts of commemoration. Fran Brearton has examined how 'numerical coincidences' can influence which anniversaries are celebrated and how these celebrations look.[16] To use her example, the anniversaries of the Battle of Clontarf (1014), Battle of Bannockburn (1314), and the First World War Centenary (1914) all occurred during the year of the Scottish independence referendum.[17] Depending on one's geographical location, all of these events entered the rhetoric of the referendum campaign in varying ways. The actual effect these anniversaries had on the vote is hard to say, of course. As Brearton

[13] G. Plain, ed. (2017) *Scotland and the First World War* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press); F. Brearton, (2017) 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers: Reflections on 1914,' in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press); M. Andrews, (2014) 'Poppies, Tommies and remembrance: Commemoration is always contested,' *Surroundings* 58.
[14] B. Corce, (1921) *Theory and History of Historiography*, trans. D. Ainslie (London: G. C. Harrap), 5, quoted in Quinault, 'Political centenary commemorations,' 193.
[15] Quinault, 'Political centenary commemorations,' 193.
[16] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 9.
[17] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 9.

points out, however, it was also the anniversary of Napoleon's exile (1814) and George I's accession (1714), though both of these 'British' anniversaries were largely excluded from the narrative.[18] This is particularly noteworthy because Clontarf, which was a distinctly Irish/Norse battle, still featured in some discourses. Brearton does caution against placing too much importance on this 'anniversary chain,' however, since it inherently suggests that 'some kind of progress is being made in the forward march of history.'[19]

In many ways, anniversaries are another type of 'invented tradition.'[20] They are celebrated because people place a certain level of importance on a historical event, which therefore accumulates more significance because of the ongoing commemorative acts. Hobsbawm suggests the period when invented traditions 'spring up with particular assiduity was in the thirty or forty years before the First World War.'[21] This is, indeed, a popular period of anniversary celebrations in Scotland. The following case studies consider a number of anniversary celebrations related to the Wars of Independence. They show how some anniversaries experienced ongoing annual celebrations, whereas others were less regular. The role and influence of the public, and well as the importance of locality will also be considered throughout this section.

Bruce's remains

Dunfermline Abbey has long been known as the burial place for many of the medieval monarchs of Scotland, beginning with St Margaret and continuing for the majority of the monarchs until Bruce.[22] Though it was long assumed Bruce was buried in the church, knowledge of the exact location of his tomb was

[18] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 9.
[19] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 11.
[20] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*.
[21] E.J. Hobsbawm, (1983) 'Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E.J. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 263.
[22] S. Boardman, (2005) 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum,' in *Royal Dunfermline,* ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 139.

lost shortly following his death.[23] Iain Fraser has suggested that both Barbour and Fordun's descriptions of the tomb are vague, indicating neither saw it in person.[24] It is also not surprising that the tomb did not survive the religious upheavals of the early modern period.[25] Questions of how Bruce's tomb may have looked or whether he was even buried in Dunfermline abounded, but there was still an expectation when work began on the foundations of a new church in the early nineteenth century that his body may be found.[26] Bruce's bones were indeed thought to be discovered by workers in February 1818.[27] In the report from Henry Jardine, His Majesty's Remembrancer in Exchequer and overseer of the choir tomb, he indicates the workers 'came by accident upon a vault, in a line with the very centre of the ancient cathedral.'[28] There have long been questions about whether these are actually the bones of Bruce.[29] Other bones were also discovered during the works, particularly around St Margaret's tomb, though none were successfully identified.[30] It is possible one of these skeletons belonged to Bruce, or that he was never buried at the abbey, or even that his remains were moved at a later date. Regardless, what is significant to this study is not whether the bones are Bruce's, but that they were treated as though they were, and thus commemorative acts followed.

[23] I. Fraser, (2005) 'The Tomb of the Hero King: The Death and Burial of Robert I, and the discoveries of 1818-19,' in *Royal Dunfermline,* ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 161.
[24] Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' 161.
[25] Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' 161.
[26] Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' 164.
[27] G. Morton, (2017) 'Bruce, Wallace, and the Diminished Present, 1800-1964,' in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. Gill Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press), 29.
[28] H. Jardine, (1822) 'Extracts from the report made by Henry Jardine, Esquire, His Majesty's Remembrancer in Exchequer, relative to the tomb of King Robert Bruce, and the church of Dunfermline, communicated to the Society on 10 December 1821,' *Archaeologia Scotia* 2, 436; Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 20.
[29] Fraser, 'Tomb of the Hero King,' 155.
[30] NRS: 'Letter 24 June 1820, Dunfermline, To Henry Jardine, From Davide Wilson,' E342/34. There was concern these bones may have been other royal graves, particularly Malcolm III's, given the proximity to Margaret's tomb. The letter goes on to say they were 'carefully collected, and they shall be taken special care of.' The reason Bruce's grave was so identifiable is the sawn chest plate, where his heart would have been removed to then be taken on Crusade.

Once Bruce's bones were discovered the design of the church took on wider interest, particularly the question of how his grave would be marked.[31] A subscription campaign was opened in March to raise money for a national monument dedicated to Bruce, though this never came to fruition.[32] Just one month after the bones were discovered there was a stone laying ceremony to mark the building of the new church, which featured a lot of pageantry. Robert Burns' 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled,' which will be discussed further in Chapter Five, was sung multiple times 'with spontaneous enthusiasm by the huge attendant crowd of townsmen and visitors, reportedly 8,000 to 10,000 strong! This seems to have been a genuinely popular community event.'[33] Here is an example of public influence on a ceremony, both in their attendance at the procession and the spontaneous singing of Burns' famous song about the Wars of Independence. Of course, the accounts from newspapers in this period cannot be relied on to not contain bias, so it is possible the popularity of this event, or indeed even the events, may have been exaggerated in the reports in an effort to sell newspapers. It was also reported that, 'a band led a procession…and in pride of place were the sword and helmet of Bruce himself. The Earl of Elgin, appropriately as a descendant of the Bruce, delivered a stirring speech at the ceremony.'[34] That a descendant of Bruce was declared to be the most appropriate person to lead this ceremony shows the importance placed on familial connections with the past, and is an example of ancestral locality. The Earl was the seventh Earl of Elgin, Thomas Bruce. He is perhaps best remembered for the removal of a significant number of ancient artefacts from Athens during his time as the British Ambassador to Turkey.[35] This ceremony occurred several years after Elgin's retirement from public life, following the

[31] R. Evets, (2005) 'Dunfermline Abbey Parish Church,' in *Royal Dunfermline,* ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 211.
[32] 'The Mirror of Fashion,' *The Morning Chronicle* (London), 18 Mar 1818.
[33] Unknown title, *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), 24 February 1818, quoted in Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 19.
[34] Evets, 'Dunfermline Abbey Parish Church,' 211.
[35] W. St Clair, (2004) 'Bruce, Thomas, seventh earl of Elgin and eleventh earl of Kincardine,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1009230.

inquiry into whether he had abused his power when procuring the 'Elgin marbles,' for which he was cleared of any wrongdoing.[36] The Elgin family also represented local ties to the area as their family seat is Broomhall, near Dunfermline.[37] At the same time as the 'discovery' of Bruce's bones, a set of bones were disturbed that were thought to be those of Bruce's wife, Elizabeth de Burgh.[38] Elgin had these bones reinterred in his family's vault.[39] This was viewed as appropriate given the Elgin family were descendants, though it is noteworthy this was chosen over reburying Elizabeth near her husband. Penman has suggested Elgin was using this as a means to rehabilitate his image by promoting the important figures of Scottish history in his ancestry.[40]

Bruce's bones were reinterred under the centre of the church tower on the 560th anniversary of his death. Directly above Bruce's tomb, on four sides of the top of the tower, are the words 'King Robert the Bruce,' meaning the entire building is essentially a monument to Bruce [Figure 4.1]. The public had the opportunity to view Bruce's bones prior to the reinterment, though the ceremony itself was 'essentially private.'[41] This is an example of how the public could be both included and excluded from ceremonies.[42] The Earl of Elgin did not attend the reinterment. There are debates as to whether this was because of his reputation, or perhaps due to his relationship with the Blair-Adam club, a Conservative club that was heavily involved in the reinterment ceremony.[43] The club began in 1817 during a weekend visit to the Blair Adam house near Dunfermline by a number of antiquarians, including Scott.[44] Talk turned to the formation of an antiquarian club,

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[36] W. St Clair, 'Bruce, Thomas,' *ODNB*.
[37] R. Hyam, (2004) 'Bruce, Victor Alexander, ninth earl of Elgin and thirteenth earl of Kincardine,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32136.
[38] P. Chalmers, (1844-59) *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons), 151, quoted in Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 12.
[39] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 13.
[40] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 13.
[41] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 46.
[42] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 33
[43] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 46; Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 18
[44] W. Stephen, (1900) 'Sir Walter Scott and the Blair Adam Antiquarian Club (1817-1831),' *The Scottish Review* 36 (London: Alexander Gardner), 35.

> The select party then at Blair Adam were to be members, with a few names of special friends to be added to the number…They agreed to visit Blair Adam annually, arriving on Friday in time for dinner…This gave them two free days for their antiquarian excursions and explorations.[45]

Initial members included Scott, Lord Adam, Charles Adam and Thomas Thomson.[46]

Figure 4.1: Tower, Dunfermline Abbey Church, Dunfermline (Geograph)

By this time, the Blair Adam Club had taken interest in a number of recent historical discoveries, such as Scott's rediscovery of the Honours of Scotland.[47] According to Penman, the reinterment 'aspired to be as carefully choreographed an assertion of loyal, royal, governmental, unionist and Presbyterian authority as had been the handling of the regalia in 1818.'[48] Coleman has suggested these endeavours suited the Conservative mind-set of the club because they 'understood the necessity for projecting their own more moderate nationality onto the national heroes of the past.'[49] By taking control of these ceremonies, members could portray the narrative they wanted.

[45] Stephen, 'Sir Walter Scott and the Blair Adam Antiquarian Club,' 37.
[46] Stephen, 'Sir Walter Scott and the Blair Adam Antiquarian Club,' 38.
[47] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 46.
[48] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 32.
[49] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 46.

Though Bruce was reinterred on the anniversary of his death, there does not appear to be any subsequent celebrations to mark this date. The proposed national monument was never realised, though Penman has suggested the church tower was a compromise on this though it was paid for by donors, including Elgin, rather than by subscriptions.[50] There were a number of subsequent attempts to create a memorial dedicated to Bruce. James Gregory, '"His Majesty's First Physician in Scotland," led a small movement for a cenotaph to be placed to mark the grave' but this also never materialised.[51] Joseph Noël Paton, who eventually designed the stained-glass window for the church mentioned in the previous chapter, also designed a sarcophagus for Bruce's tomb in 1845, though the subscription campaign for this was unsuccessful so it was never built.[52] All of this appears to suggest there was not public support for commemorating Bruce in the first half of the nineteenth century, and during George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822 he significantly did not visit Dunfermline, thus not paying his respects to the former King of Scots.[53] However, this was still early in the commemoration of the Wars, with only three monuments built, all of which were dedicated to Wallace, and very little by way of other physical acts of commemoration. This was a significant period in terms of the written sources, however, and *The Scottish Chiefs* (1809) had shed light on Bruce's life, though the text was more focused on Wallace. This illustrates how local interest created moments of commemoration, such as the one the discovery of Bruce's bones led to, but it ultimately did little to spark commemorative efforts in the rest of Scotland. This is also illustrative of the wider lack of support for commemorative efforts dedicated to Bruce in the early to mid-nineteenth century, a theme that will continue throughout this study.

However, Bruce's popularity was changing by the end of the century. In 1887 the Dunfermline Kirk Session sanctioned a plate being placed over the grave, joining the other monuments and commemorations built in this decade.[54]

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[50] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 39
[51] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 47.
[52] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 40.
[53] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 8.
[54] 'Memorial to Robert the Bruce,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 21 Jul 1887.

The same article announcing that the monument had been approved said the Earl of Elgin, the grandson of the above Earl, 'is taking an active interest in the movement, and it is expected that more will be heard about it shortly.'[55] The next week it was decided that a public meeting to discuss the monument would be called, presided over by Elgin.[56] That Elgin was leading the committee for this new commemoration of Bruce is another example of ancestral locality. It also illustrates another way the public could be involved in the process of commemoration, through public meetings.

The subscription campaign was complete by the end of 1888 and the brass plate was installed over the tomb in 1889 [Figure 4.2]. The inlaid design was chosen because of the location of the grave in the centre of the church, so it was the least intrusive.[57] The plaque was designed by W.S. Black of Edinburgh, and was described in a newspaper as such,

> The style of the work belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The figure of the King is life-size; over his suit of chain-mail armour he wears his kingly robes; his hands are folded in an attitude of prayer, and his feet rest on the recumbent figure of a conventionalised lion. His great two-handed sword lies by his side. On the left is his coat-of-arms as King of Scotland, and on the right that which he was entitled to assume as Earl of Carrick.[58]

The article emphasised the grandeur of the memorial, and it was revealed, 'the effigy is kingly in every line. The brass is of a massive and substantial character.'[59] The brass was cut from 'an ancient sarcophagus brought to this country by the grandfather of the present Earl, of Elgin marble fame.'[60] There is no further information given about this sarcophagus, however, such as where it was from, how old it was beyond 'ancient', and if it had come from the family's personal collection. The article also mentioned the authenticity of the design, 'the whole of the details have been studied by the designer from actualities of

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[55] 'Memorial to Robert the Bruce,' 21 Jul 1887.
[56] 'Monument to King Robert the Bruce,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 30 Jul 1887.
[57] 'The Bruce Memorial to Dunfermline Abbey,' *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee), 18 Dec 1889.
[58] 'The Bruce Monument in Dunfermline Abbey,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 18 Dec 1889.
[59] 'The Bruce Memorial to Dunfermline Abbey,' 18 Dec 1889.
[60] 'The Bruce Memorial to Dunfermline Abbey,' 18 Dec 1889.

the period – the sword, for example, being an exact reproduction of the Bruce's own weapon.'[61] This implies the sword depicted on the plate was a replica of the one held by the Elgin family that was said to be Bruce's sword, though two-handed swords were not used in Scotland until around the Battle of Flodden, so this is apocryphal. The depiction of the two-handed sword in these commemorations will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Figure 4.2: Brass plaque marking Bruce's grave, Dunfermline Abbey Church, Dunfermline (TripAdvisor)

The Elgin family was heavily involved in the opening ceremony, with the Earl delivering a speech and his sister, Lady Louisa Bruce, unveiling the plaque.[62] In his speech Elgin focused solely on Bruce and made no mention of Wallace by name. He followed Carnegie in suggesting the influence of these events on the local youth, 'there was not a schoolboy who did not look to that name as the name of the vindicator of the liberties of Scotland.'[63] Elgin had become the chairman of the Scottish Liberal Association in 1881, where he was a strong supporter of Gladstone and his stance on Home Rule.[64] He became

[61] 'The Bruce Memorial to Dunfermline Abbey,' 18 Dec 1889.
[62] 'The Bruce Monument in Dunfermline Abbey,' 18 Dec 1889.
[63] 'The Bruce Memorial in Dunfermline Abbey,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 19 Dec 1889.
[64] Hyam, 'Bruce, Victor Alexander,' *ODNB*.

treasurer of the household in the Liberal government of 1886.[65] Given Elgin's political allegiances, in addition to his ancestral ties, it is not surprising that Bruce was an appealing figure to Elgin.

The 'discovery' of Bruce's remains continued in 1921 when his heart was found at Melrose Abbey. An article from 4 March says a heart was 'found encased in a casket.'[66] The article goes on to document how Bruce asked for his heart to be taken on Crusade following his death, but 'when going through Andalusia Douglas was surrounded by Moors. Throwing the heart of his old leader into the midst of the enemy, he exclaimed: 'Go first as thou were wont to go: Douglas will follow thee or die,' …He was killed. The heart, however, was recovered, and brought back to Melrose Abbey.'[67] The following day, however, an article appeared saying the heart had 'little foundation in fact.'[68] The main inaccuracies the article suggested were that 'the casket was found outside, not inside, the Abbey, and there is neither inscription nor writing of any kind to identify it with Bruce.'[69] In 1996 the heart was discovered again during excavations, and tests were done on it to determine whether it may have been Bruce's heart. It was reburied, under a plinth declaring it as Bruce's heart, on 24 June 1998 – the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, though there are still doubts as to whether the heart does indeed belong to Bruce.

Of course, the ceremony surrounding both Bruce's bones and his heart may have been centred around inaccuracies. As already mentioned, there have been serious questions about the authenticity of the claims in both cases. It is clear, particularly in the case of the bones in Dunfermline, however, that it was to the benefit of most of the interested parties to suggest that bones did indeed belong to Bruce. It allowed the Elgin family to strengthen their claim of ancestry to Bruce, as well as giving the opportunity to help their public perception. It also gave the members of the Blair-Adam club another opportunity to show their

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[65] Hyam, 'Bruce, Victor Alexander,' *ODNB*.
[66] 'Bruce's Heart Discovered at Melrose Abbey,' *The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), 4 Mar 1921.
[67] 'Bruce's Heart Discovered at Melrose Abbey,' 4 Mar 1921.
[68] 'Discovery of Bruce's Heart Discounted,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 5 Mar 1921.
[69] 'Discovery of Bruce's Heart Discounted,' 5 Mar 1921.

interest in discovering and promoting the Scottish historical past, which was particularly well-timed as this occurred shortly following the discovery of the Honours of Scotland. For Dunfermline Abbey itself, interest in the bones translated into interest in the new church. The public benefitted by being included in some of the ceremony surrounding the events, as well as bringing positive attention to their town. Therefore, if people had doubts about the authenticity of the bones, it is not surprising they were not widely voiced.

The use of Bruce's death in anniversary celebrations also relates to a number of the themes in this thesis. Ancestral locality is evident through multiple generations of the Elgin family. It benefitted the family to reinforce this ancestral connection to help repair their reputation, and their involvement was likely deemed appropriate given the personal nature of a reinterment. This example illustrates how acts of commemoration interact with each other. Bruce's body was reinterred on the anniversary of his death, and his heart on the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn. On these dates there were ceremonies, and they also became the impetus for monuments and tombs to be produced. The commemoration of Bruce's remains also reveals several of the ways in which the public were involved in ceremony, including in subscription campaigns, attending public meetings, and as part of the processions, which they occasionally altered, such as with their alleged spontaneous singing of 'Scots Wha Hae.' It also illustrates occasions when they were excluded, such as at the reinterment itself, though they were able to view the bones beforehand. Finally, this example also illustrates Bruce's changing reputation in the nineteenth century. There were several efforts made to create a monument to Bruce following the discovery of his bones, but these were not successful until towards the end of the century, when Bruce was being commemorated across Scotland. This is also another way the public had power over commemorations, by determining whether they would participate in subscription campaigns.

The next case study focuses on the anniversary celebrations on the day of Wallace's execution, the 23 August 1305. After the Elderslie Wallace Memorial was completed in 1912, as discussed in Chapter Three, commemorating the anniversary of Wallace's execution at the memorial quickly became a tradition. This celebration also became a space for Home Rule demonstrations from the early-twentieth century.[70] For example, in 1920 the Scottish Home Rule Association held a demonstration at the monument to mark the 615th anniversary of Wallace's death.[71] R.B. Cunninghame Graham, President of the Association, gave a speech that again highlighted Wallace's relationship with Bruce, 'Wallace made Scotland; he was Scotland…He prepared the way for Bruce.'[72] In 1924, a year that had included the introduction of a Scottish Home Rule Bill in May, a resolution was passed at a meeting following the demonstration which declared,

> This meeting of the Scottish people assembled at Elderslie, the birthplace of Sir William Wallace, Scotland's greatest fighter for national freedom, to commemorate his martyrdom and its 619th anniversary, pleads individually and collectively to work steadily for national self-government, until the Scottish people regain full control of their own affairs.[73]

In his speech at the event Labour MP for Clydebank David Kirkwood discussed how Scottish Home Rule would function, saying there would be 'a Labour government in power'.[74] This illustrates how the Labour movement was positioning itself as a champion of Home Rule following the divisions in the party, which would be underlined following their loss in general election later that year. It also suggests that many of the people present at the demonstration

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[70] 'Demand for Scottish Parliament,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 31 Aug 1920.
[71] 'Demand for Scottish Parliament', 31 Aug 1920.
[72] C. Watts, (2004) 'Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/33504?docPos=2; 'Demand for Scottish Parliament,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 31 Aug 1920.
[73] 'Economic Inquiry,' *Aberdeen Press and Journal* (Aberdeen), 25 Aug 1924.
[74] 'Economic Inquiry,' 25 Aug 1924.

may have been Labour supporters. Cunninghame Graham also spoke at the event, and he suggested Wallace's aims would not be fulfilled without Home Rule, 'the work of Wallace was left without a coping stone till they had a Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh.'[75] These annual demonstrations continued throughout the period, including following the formation of the Scottish National Party in 1934.[76]

The Wallace Memorial at Elderslie illustrates how commemorations inform each other. This was particularly clear in the ways the ceremony changed following the First World War. From 1913 the demonstration featured a procession to the monument, followed by speeches. This is very much in-keeping with what was occurring at other anniversary celebrations and monument unveilings. During the 1934 'annual demonstration of the Scottish National Party,' however, Cunninghame Graham gave a speech, a wreath was laid on the monument, 'a lament was played by pipers, and this was followed by the sounding of the Last Post. A minute of silence was then observed, and the tribute of remembrance concluded with Reveille on the bugle.'[77] These rituals mirror the ceremonies normally associated with Armistice Day. This now 'traditional' series of events developed in the years following the First World War. In 1919, the first anniversary of the Armistice, King George was partially responsible for the introduction of the two minutes of silence.[78] His secretary allegedly told him South Africa had observed a daily silence since 1916, and he chose to encourage this to mark the eleventh day of November in 1919.[79] This quickly became part of Armistice Day tradition. Mark Connelly has shown the influence of church-based ceremonies in the years following the war, and how many of the speeches and dedications that are now traditional stemmed from this.[80] War memorials also quickly became spaces of remembrance, particularly

[75] 'Scottish Home Rule,' *The Times* (London), 24 Aug 1925.
[76] 'News,' *The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), 20 Aug 1937.
[77] 'William Wallace: Annual Demonstration at Elderslie', 27 Aug 1934.
[78] M. Connelly, (2002) *The Great War, Memory and Ritual* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press), 132.
[79] Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, 132.
[80] Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, 143.

after the 1920 ceremony marking the burial of the Unknown Soldier.[81] In 1920 there was also an example of the Last Post being played by a bugler following the two minutes of silence in Devon.[82] At this same ceremony 'the base of the war memorial cross in the churchyard was covered with floral tributes, surrounded by a plain laurel wreath.'[83] Armistice Day itself was solidified as the key date for commemorative activities dedicated to the First World War in the early 1920s, moving away from the August date when Britain entered the war, which had been commemorated during the war itself.[84] Wreaths, particularly the tradition of them being laid by women, also came quickly. At the 1919 ceremony in Ilford, Essex the Women's War Help Society placed a wreath on the temporary Cenotaph following the two minutes of silence.[85] Looking at Scotland specifically, there is a description of the Dundee Armistice Day celebrations in 1920 in *The Courier and Argus* that indicates there were two minutes of silence, a wreath was placed at a war memorial tablet at the Post Office, and suggested these scenes were echoed 'throughout the length and breadth of Scotland'.[86] By 1927 the ceremonies were much more prescribed, and a description of twenty-three ceremonies in different communities in Scotland show they were nearly identical.[87] The requisite two-minute silence was observed, wreaths were placed, the Last Post and Reveille were nearly always played, politicians were present, and there was often a church service.

All of this mirrors what was occurring by the 1930s at the Wallace Memorial in Elderslie on the anniversary of his execution. The fact that an identical ceremony to what was being performed to commemorate the dead of a recent war was also used to commemorate one man who died more than six hundred years earlier is significant. This illustrates the effect the First World War had on commemoration – not only were people still building war memorials to a different war at this same time, but they were also conducting

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[81] Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, 144.
[82] 'Bideford,' *The North Devon Journal* (Barnstaple), 18 Nov 1920.
[83] 'Bideford,' 18 Nov 1920.
[84] Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, 150.
[85] Connelly, *Memory and Ritual*, 148.
[86] 'Armistice Day in Scotland,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 12 Nov 1920.
[87] 'Armistice Day in Scotland', *Courier and Advertiser* (Dundee), 12 Nov 1927.

identical ceremonies. That it was not seen as in anyway inappropriate for Wallace to be publicly commemorated in the same manner as victims of a recent war shows the level of importance given to the Wars of Independence in this period.

Goebel has suggested aspects of the Middle Ages were regularly used following the First World War in order to make sense of the scale of loss, 'in the commemoration of the Great War, medievalism was transmuted into a discourse of mourning in an age of industrialised carnage.'[88] People constructed a narrative dating back to the Middle Ages in order to reconcile their contemporary mourning. In Scotland, this was occasionally manifested in 'hero cults' dedicated to Wallace and Bruce.[89] Goebel argues that using medieval heroes in this way is somewhat unique to Scotland, at least within the UK.[90] That it was seen as reasonable to use rituals typically associated with Armistice Day to mark Wallace's execution is an example of this. As previously discussed, the figures of Wallace and Bruce also helped to reinforce the military tradition in Scotland, which added to their heroic appeal following the First World War. This also further reinforces the role Wallace (and Bruce) played in the tradition of Scottish militarism.

The Wallace Memorial in Elderslie reveals how anniversaries often appear alongside other acts of commemoration. Celebrations to mark the anniversary of Wallace's execution occurred in his birthplace, Elderslie, which led to the creation of a monument. In turn, this monument became the site of ceremonies that mimicked those that developed following the First World War. This is also a clear example of how acts of commemoration could be appropriated politically, as the site became associated with annual Home Rule demonstrations.

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[88] Goebel, *Great War and Medieval Memory*, 14.
[89] Goebel, 'Spirit of the Crusaders,' 138.
[90] Wales did make use of Glyndwr, but with much less regularity than in Scotland, likely because Scottish national identity was much better formed than Welsh in this period. Goebel, 'Spirit of the Crusaders,' 138.

Battle Anniversaries

The most popular form of anniversary celebration dedicated to the Wars of Independence are those commemorating battles. When commemorating more recent wars, particularly the First World War, there has been a sense of commemorating the entirety of the war, in addition to significant anniversaries of specific battles and events. Intriguingly, the Wars of Independence as a whole are rarely commemorated in the same way the individual events and people are. Perhaps this is because of the length of the conflict, as the first war lasted for thirty-two years. It could also be an indication of how the Wars are considered during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as more of a series of events than as an over-arching conflict.

The Battle of Bannockburn is by far the most commemorated event from the Wars of Independence. There are a number of elements that contribute to its overall popularity, such as the unlikely victory of the Scottish army and specific heroic tales like Bruce's killing of de Bohun. This interest in the battle is not a recent phenomenon. As previously indicated, for the 500th anniversary of the battle in 1814, it is claimed that 15,000 people attended the celebrations outside Stirling.[91] Given how early this occurred in the process of commemorating the Wars, this number is rather astonishing and, indeed, it seems likely that it is an exaggeration. It does, however, show the growing popularity of Scottish history in the early nineteenth century, which was particularly clear in the publishing world.[92] This interest, however, largely lay in the battle, rather than for its victorious leader, Bruce. As indicated in the discussion about his remains, there was very little commemoration of Bruce during the majority of the nineteenth century.

A local surgeon in Stirling wrote a diary entry about the 500th anniversary and indicated that a crowd gathered at St Ninians and walked to the Borestone, 'in grand procession with four or five bagpipers, and there drank

[91] Smout, *Century of the Scottish People*, 236.
[92] This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

severall [*sic*] appropriate Toasts.'[93] There are a number of aspects of this celebration that have since become 'traditional' at Bannockburn anniversaries. A procession to the battle site was common. There was often a meal, particularly for the more elite attendees, which generally included local politicians, members of the aristocracy, town officials, and other chosen guests. The level of engagement with the anniversary was directly correlated to one's socio-economic status, again showing the limits of public access to ceremony. For the 500th anniversary celebrations were not confined to the Stirling area. At a celebratory dinner at Rutherglen, in South Lanarkshire, toasts were made to Wallace as 'the patriotic defender of his country,' and also to Bruce 'who, actuated by a similar principle, obtained his country's freedom at Bannockburn.'[94] Once again it is suggested that Wallace inspired Bruce. This inclusion of Wallace in the toast may also be due to his connection to Lanarkshire, where the event was occurring, as he was said to have started his rebellion there.

Today fiftieth anniversaries are often celebrated as much as centenaries, but the lack of attention given to the 550th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn in 1864 shows this is a more recent phenomenon. There were calls for a memorial to the battle to be raised in the 1860s, and because of this a flagpole marking the location of the Borestone, the location where Bruce apparently planted his standard prior to the battle, was raised in 1870. There was also a push in the late nineteenth century for the Bannockburn anniversary to be declared a national holiday, but this was never realised.[95] Though this is clearly evidence of increasing interest in Bannockburn, none of this coincides with significant anniversaries of the battle itself. Therefore, it is clear that while there were early anniversary celebrations of Bannockburn, yearly gatherings were not popular until more recently.

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[93] Stirling Council Archives, 'The Dr Lucas Diaries – 24 June 1814,' accessed February 2 2017, https://thedrlucasdiaries.wordpress.com/other-years/1814-2/.
[94] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, 43.
[95] Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 36.

The anniversary cycle of the Wars of Independence started again towards the end of the nineteenth century, and there was a large celebration in Stirling for the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge in September 1897. The celebrations began at the National Wallace Monument, where several speeches were made and there was 'a considerable gathering of the public.'[96] One of the speeches was given by 'Wallace of Cloncaird, Ayrshire, a representative in the male line of the family from which the hero sprang.'[97] This is an example of ancestral locality, since a descendant was deemed an valuable person to make a speech at the ceremony. As Wallace did not have any known children, however, the speaker was not a direct descendent, but rather from the 'male line.' This use of ancestral locality is reminiscent of the reinterment of Bruce's bones, when the Elgin family, as descendants of Bruce, were crucial in both the planning and execution of the ceremony. In fact, an article listed Elgin as one of the apologies on the day of the 1897 Battle of Stirling Bridge anniversary.

The day continued with a banquet in the Albert Hall in Stirling, where 'the front of the galleries were festooned with Wallace tartan entwined with yellow muslin…The company numbered about 609.'[98] This illustrates the Victorian popularity of clan tartans, but may also allude to the fact that in 1881 it was specified that all Scottish regiments were to wear tartan.[99] Therefore, this also reinforces the connection between Wallace and the history of militarism in Scotland. What is particularly striking is that more than six hundred people were allegedly invited to this private banquet, which perhaps suggests many more members of the public had been at the Wallace Monument, as this dinner was by invitation only. An article from *The Evening Telegraph* lists the notable people in attendance, which again displays the importance of being seen

[96] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* (Aberdeen), 14 Sep 1897.
[97] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[98] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 14 Sep 1897.
[99] R.J. Finlay, (2011) 'National Identity, Union, and Empire, x. 1850- c. 1970,' in *Scottish and the British Empire,* ed. J.M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 293.

publicly supporting commemorative acts. Apologies were also listed, which included the aforementioned Elgin and Andrew Carnegie.[100]

The banquet began with a toast from the Lord Provost, who dedicated most of his speech to reinforcing the teleological view that the events of the Wars of Independence led directly to the Union. He reinforced this by suggesting it was fitting they were commemorating the event 'within a very few weeks of celebrating the sixty years reign of the best Sovereign these realms had ever known.'[101] The main speech at the dinner was given by the Earl of Rosebery, former Liberal Prime Minister.[102] In his PhD thesis on Rosebery and Scottish nationalism, Robert Akroyd suggested Rosebery's 'speeches contained a spark, which he could ignite into a roaring blaze with a deft combination of eloquent diction, impish humour, cutting and well-aimed sarcasm all polished by scholarly erudition.'[103] Rosebery gained power within the Liberal party, particularly in Scotland, throughout the 1870s, mainly due to his involvement with the changes to Scottish Liberalism.[104] He was a strong supporter of Gladstone during Irish Home Rule debates and became Prime Minister following Gladstone's retirement in 1894.[105] Rosebery maintained an interest in Scottish history throughout his life and he was the first president of the Scottish History Society.[106] He also published several essays, though 'technically Rosebery's work certainly compares uncomfortably with the best professional history of the time.'[107] These essays were largely based on Rosebery's access to private papers because of his aristocratic connections.[108] This is another example of the

[100] 'The Stirling Bridge Anniversary,' *The Evening Telegraph* (Dundee), 13 Sep 1897.
[101] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[102] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 56.
[103] R.J. Akroyd, (1996) 'Lord Rosebery and Scottish Nationalism, 1868-1898,' PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh).
[104] J. Davis, (2004) 'Primrose, Archibald Philip, fifth earl of Rosebery and first earl of Midlothian,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-35612.
[105] Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip,' *ODNB*.
[106] Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip,' *ODNB*.
[107] Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip,' *ODNB*.
[108] Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip,' *ODNB*.

ways in which the public could be excluded from certain aspects of commemoration.

An article suggested that Rosebery's speech 'was received with enthusiasm, the company rising to their feet and singing heartily 'For he's a jolly good fellow.'[109] The speech was printed in the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*. Rosebery began by suggesting there were two types of people who are interested in the past:

> One is the class of minute archaeological historians, who find a savage, almost devilish, delight in winnowing the true from the false in the legends that surround Sir William Wallace…But I think you will agree with me that it will not be the occasion for such a discourse, and were it the occasion I am not the man…Then there is another class…but I am not sure they would have been the right persons either. I mean that class of passionate and indiscriminating patriots to whom everything, true or false, connected with the memory of a national hero is dear, and who, without the faintest effort or strain of deglutition, can swallow every legend and every tradition that is associated with their hero.[110]

Essentially, Rosebery is differentiating between those who are interested in historical accuracy, and those who put a preference on significance. He did not indicate which group he saw himself in. Rosebery again engaged with the concept of historical accuracy later in his speech when he outlined the 'facts' then known about Wallace.[111] He also asked 'how so short a record has so powerfully impressed the imaginations of mankind.'[112] One possible answer he gives is the popularity of Hary's *Wallace*, though he does point out that there are some inherent problems with the source, 'I believe that record is now generally condemned as apocryphal and legendary, but this decision of historical criticism comes too late to overtake the impression of the nation.'[113] Rosebery also

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[109] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[110] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[111] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897. Rosebery indicated these 'facts' were that Wallace lived in the Middle Ages, he fought in the Battle of Stirling Bridge, he was Guardian, he fought in the battle of Falkirk, he went to France for a time then came back to Scotland, and he was captured and executed.
[112] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[113] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.

suggested the legacy of Wallace has lasted because 'he was deserted in the main by the aristocracy and the priesthood, he became essentially the man of the people.'[114] This comment is particularly noteworthy as Rosebery himself had a position in the House of Lords, though he attempted to distance himself from this during his career as it was unpopular with many of his Liberal colleagues.[115] Rosebery also makes reference to another popular view of Wallace towards the end of his speech by suggesting Wallace was the catalyst for Bruce's actions, 'he was the first to rise and face the oppressor; it was he who inspired the men and the events which followed…Bruce might never have stood forth and Bannockburn never have been fought.'[116]

Overall, the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge illustrates the popularity of Wallace at the end of the nineteenth century. There was a well-attended procession held during the day, and over 600 people attended the dinner. The role of ancestral locality was briefly shown when an ancestor was invited to give a speech at the dinner. The role of historical accuracy was a central theme in Rosebery's speech, and he indicated Wallace's myth had already gone beyond the 'facts' known about his life. In addition, the places where the public are included and excluded in ceremony were again visible. In particular, though there was a public procession to mark the anniversary, an invitation was required to attend the dinner.

The next ceremony of note was for the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn in 1914. The vast majority of scholarly interest in Bannockburn anniversaries has been focused on this event.[117] An estimated 50,000 people attended the celebrations.[118] One of the defining features of this ceremony comes with hindsight, because the anniversary occurred six weeks before the outbreak of the First World War. Though no one could have known exactly what was on the horizon, Brearton and Morton have both pointed out that the

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[114] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[115] Davis, 'Primrose, Archibald Philip,' *ODNB*.
[116] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.
[117] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* 184-187; Plain, *Scotland and the First World War*; R. Crawford, (2017) 'Bannockburn after Baston,' in *Scotland and the First World War*, ed. G. Plain (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press).
[118] Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 37

increasing tensions in Europe were on the minds of many of those in attendance at the anniversary.[119] Rosebery also spoke at this event, seventeen years after the Battle of Stirling Bridge. In his speech he preached unity between Scotland and England, saying, 'those who were our fiercest enemies…are now our closest friends.'[120] In addition to the upcoming start of the First World War, the strong relationship between Scotland and England was likely also emphasised due to the increasing campaigns for Scottish Home Rule at this time. Crawford has indicated these calls for Home Rule are likely the reason King George V did not attend the celebrations that year.[121] In fact, a demonstration was held that night in Stirling in support of Home Rule by the Young Scots Society.[122] In addition, this comment by Rosebery may also reflect his criticism of the Liberal Party following the end of his political career. Though he supported Home Rule during the period of Gladstone, he later opposed Irish Home Rule, so this may also indicate his lack of support.

Much like the Wallace Memorial in Elderslie at the same time, the National Party of Scotland, and later the SNP, frequently held rallies on the date of the anniversary of Bannockburn.[123] In addition to these annual celebrations, there were also several one-off uses of the anniversary. For example, in 1922 a one-day event was held on the anniversary of Bannockburn as a fundraiser for the National War Memorial.[124] Juliette MacDonald has suggested this led to a 'strong link' being made between Bruce (and the Wars of Independence) and the National War Memorial.[125] As was shown in the stained glass section of the previous chapter, both Bruce and Wallace were included in stained glass windows in the Memorial. This would have been reiterated further had the statues of Wallace and Bruce on the walls of Edinburgh Castle been placed on the exterior of the Memorial, as was a suggestion.[126] Regardless, the statues

[119] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 6; Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 38.
[120] Brearton, 'Missing Dates and Magic Numbers,' 6.
[121] Crawford, 'Bannockburn after Baston,' 105.
[122] Crawford, 'Bannockburn after Baston,' 108.
[123] Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 39.
[124] MacDonald, 'Scottish National War Memorial,' 125.
[125] MacDonald, 'Scottish National War Memorial,'125
[126] NRS: Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle, RF2/14.

were also unveiled on the walls of the castle on the Bannockburn anniversary. The use of the anniversary was also not limited to commemorations to the battle or even to Bruce, as the date was used for both the inauguration of the subscription campaign for the National Wallace Monument, and, years later, the laying of the foundation stone.[127]

How do anniversary commemorations compare with those from another oft-commemorated battle in Scottish history – the Battle of Flodden? Though both conflicts involved Anglo-Scottish enmity, this is where the similarities end. Bannockburn was a decisive win for the Scots, whereas Flodden was one for the English. The English seemed likely to win at Bannockburn, whereas the Scots did at Flodden. The battle of Flodden occurred on English soil, whereas Bannockburn took place in Scotland. There are, however, some intriguing similarities in the commemorations of these battles, particularly in the period of this study. Like Bannockburn, the way in which Flodden has been commemorated has changed over time, particularly depending on the contemporary political situation.

The 400th anniversary in 1913 represents a high point of interest in Flodden.[128] In their study of the commemorations of the battle, Katie Stevenson and Gordon Pentland reference Quinault's 'cult of the centenary', and illustrate how the popularity of anniversaries more generally affected Flodden commemoration; particularly through lectures, exhibitions, and civic ceremonies.[129] Commemorations were nearly always confined to the Borders, and each town attempted to one-up each other with their events.[130] As early as 1907 there were letters written to newspapers that expressed concern about both the lack of monuments to the battle and clear preparations for the upcoming anniversary – which was still six years away.[131] Monuments were

[127] Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 34.
[128] K. Stevenson and G. Pentland, (2012) 'The Battle of Flodden and its Commemoration,' in *England and Scotland at War, c.1296-c.1513,* ed. Andy King and David Simpkin (Leiden: Brill), 356-7.
[129] Stevenson & Pentland, 'Flodden and its Commemoration', 365.
[130] Stevenson & Pentland, 'Flodden and its Commemoration', 365.
[131] Stevenson & Pentland, 'Flodden and its Commemoration', 367.

built in both Selkirk and Hawick prior to the anniversary, which helped build excitement for the extensive anniversary celebrations.[132]

The 1913 Flodden anniversary was similar to the 1914 Bannockburn anniversary in many ways. Both featured civic ceremonies, which were followed by luncheons for favored guests. The main speaker at both ceremonies was Lord Rosebery, and he even referenced Bannockburn in his speech at Flodden, saying, 'He was there because, proud as he was of Bannockburn, he was not less proud of Flodden.'[133] This is clearly a reference to the comparisons between Bannockburn and Flodden in the public perception, and an indication that Bannockburn was generally more popular in Scotland. On the day of the Flodden anniversary, Rosebery also unveiled the Selkirk memorial to the battle, and he received the Freedom of the City – mirroring many of the ceremonies seen in the monuments chapter.[134] There are some notable differences between the anniversary ceremonies, however. The celebrations did not occur on the anniversary of the battle in February, but rather in June, during the annual celebrations for the Common Riding in Selkirk.[135] Stevenson and Pentland have shown this was common practice for the Border towns.[136] This is also an example of the creation of spaces of remembrance. Since the battle did not occur in Scotland, the monuments built in the borders became the central focus for the commemoration of the battle. Bannockburn never had to face this problem, but those commemorating Flodden needed to find a way of commemorating that was not geographically problematic. Overall, the two ceremonies clearly influenced each other in terms of how they commemorated anniversaries, including using the same speakers, and similar events including ceremonies, processions, and banquets. Anniversaries for these events also occur only one year apart in an anniversary cycle, which means Flodden is fresh in the mind when deciding on Bannockburn commemorations.

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[132] Stevenson & Pentland, 'Flodden and its Commemoration', 369.
[133] 'Anniversary of Flodden', *The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), 8 Sept 1913.
[134] 'Anniversary of Flodden', *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 8 Sept 1913.
[135] 'Anniversary of Flodden', *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 8 Sept 1913; K.R. Bogle, (2004) *Scotland's Common Ridings* (Stroud: Tempus).
[136] Stevenson & Pentland, 'Flodden and its Commemoration', 365.

Though other anniversaries were celebrated during this time, including the Battle of Stirling Bridge, the Battle of Bannockburn was by far the most commemorated battle from the Wars of Independence. It could be argued it eventually came to represent the conflict as a whole. This is another example of the role of trends in commemoration. There were clear times of popularity for different types of commemorative acts during this period, and once several events occurred on the Bannockburn anniversary it became increasingly likely more would follow. For example, once several monuments were unveiled on the anniversary of Bannockburn, it is unsurprising that others followed. In addition, as Morton has argued, it was less controversial to commemorate Bannockburn than Bruce or Wallace in this period, because the battle could be framed to fit within a variety of narratives.[137] For example, the schiltron was used to reinforce the tradition of a Scottish military prowess, while the stories of Bruce hearing mass before the battle could be highlighted to show his religiosity, as will be explored further in the following chapter. In addition, Bannockburn is by far the most famous battle from the Wars of Independence, and arguably the medieval period in Scotland. As discussed in Chapter Two, it was often viewed as the end of the wider conflict in the nineteenth century. Therefore, it was able to encompass the entire conflict as it is seen as the climax. This also reinforces why Wallace was so often included in Bannockburn anniversary celebrations, despite his execution nine years earlier – he was seen as the catalyst for the conflict that eventually led to the Scottish success at Bannockburn, and thus of the Wars of Independence as a whole.

Monuments and Anniversaries

As already indicated in this chapter, monuments and anniversaries frequently influenced each other. Nine of the monuments dedicated to the Wars of Independence that date from 1800 to 1939 were built for or unveiled on

[137] Morton, 'Diminished Present,' 34.

significant anniversaries from the Wars [Figure 4.3].[138] Of these, seven commemorate the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn. Some were built in recognition of a significant anniversary of the battle, such as the memorial in Ceres, which was erected for the 600th anniversary. Others were simply unveiled on the day of the anniversary itself, 24 June, such as the flagpole at Bannockburn that was installed in 1870. Bannockburn was not the only anniversary used, however. In 1814, despite being the year of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, the statue of Wallace at Dryburgh was unveiled on 22 September, the date of the Battle of Stirling Bridge.[139] Three of the monuments also commemorate the anniversary of Bruce's death. Two of these date from 1929, the 600th anniversary of his death, including Bruce's Stone at Glentrool and the Wallace and Bruce statues at Edinburgh Castle. The anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge was used as the date for the unveiling of the National Wallace Monument in Stirling, but this choice caused some controversy.[140] The launch of the subscription campaign and the laying of the foundation stone had both occurred on the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, and it was felt this date should be used to open the monument as well. Therefore, not only was Wallace often tied into the narrative of Bannockburn, that date was occasionally favoured over dates of battles Wallace actually fought in.

[138] See Appendix One for all dates.
[139] At the laying of the foundation stone for this monument there was another example of ancestral locality, when 'James Haig, Esq. of Bemerside, descended from John and Peter Haig of Bemerside, two of Wallace's captains, was present at this ceremony.' J. Barrie, (1824) 'A new collection of poems, on various subjects,' (Kelso: Alex Leadbetter), 85, 86.
[140] Morton, 'Diminished Present.'

Monument	Location	Date	Associated Anniversary
Wallace's Monument and Ornamental Urn	Dryburgh, Berwickshire	1814	Bannockburn (500th anniversary)
National Wallace Monument	Stirling, Stirlingshire	1869	Bannockburn (subscription campaign, foundation stone), Stirling Bridge (opening)
Bannockburn Memorial Flagpole	Bannockburn, Stirlingshire	1870	Bannockburn (unveiled on anniversary)
Statue of Robert the Bruce	Lochmaben, Dumfries and Galloway	1879	Bruce's death (550th anniversary)
Wallace's Statue	Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire	1888	Bannockburn (unveiled on anniversary)
The Bannockburn Memorial	Ceres, Fife	1914	Bannockburn (600th anniversary)
Bruce's Flagstaff	Dumbarton, Dumbartonshire	1928	Bannockburn (unveiled on anniversary)
Bruce's Stone	Glentrool, Dumfries and Galloway	1929	Bruce's death (600th anniversary), Bannockburn (unveiled in same month as anniversary)
Wallace and Bruce Statues	Edinburgh, Midlothian	1929	Bruce's death (600th anniversary)

Figure 4.3: Monuments associated with anniversaries

The above examples are all monuments that were built for or unveiled on an anniversary, but there are also examples of monuments that adopted anniversaries. One such example is the Wallace Tower on Barnweill Hill, which was raised in 1855. A 1915 book about the monument outlines the anniversaries for which the Saltire was raised above the tower. These included 25 January (Robert Burns' birthday), 15 May (burning of barns of Ayr), 12 June (Battle of Biggar), 24 June (Battle of Bannockburn), 12 July (Battle of Black Earnside), and 11 September (Battle of Stirling Bridge).[141] All of these dates, aside from Burns' birthday, relate to the Wars of Independence.

[141] R. Bryden, (1915) *Ayrshire Monuments Etched by Robert Bryden* (Ayr: Stephen & Pollock).

Conclusion

There are a number of ways anniversaries were being celebrated during this period. Trends in commemoration played an important role, as can be seen in how the Bannockburn anniversary came to represent all events from the Wars of Independence. Locality was evident in the form of ancestral locality, which could be seen in the role of the Elgin family in the commemoration of Bruce at Dunfermline Abbey Church, and the inclusion of Wallace's ancestor at the Battle of Stirling Bridge anniversary in 1897. Historic locality was evident in most of the sites listed, as anniversary celebrations tended to be held at the site of the battle or event that was being commemorated. The role of politics within commemoration was also explored in this section, particularly with the Wallace Memorial in Elderslie, which became the site of Home Rule, then Scottish Independence, demonstrations. The variety of ways in which the public may have engaged with the anniversaries was also shown, whether they were involved in processions, subscription campaigns, opening ceremonies, meetings or banquets. There were also times, however, when they were excluded from ceremonies, including at the reinterment of Bruce's bones and at the 1897 Battle of Stirling Bridge ceremonial dinner. Finally, it was clear how often anniversaries were celebrated alongside other commemorations, particularly monuments. As mentioned in the last chapter, these anniversary celebrations helped keep the relevancy and importance of the monuments in the minds of the public, rather than becoming just another aspect of the built environment.

4.2: Monument Unveilings

The remainder of this chapter is focused on the unveiling ceremonies of the monument case studies from the previous chapter. A number of scholars identify the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as a popular time for

ceremonies, suggesting this is a result of wider Romanticism.[142] Robert Anderson, in an article about the 300th anniversary University of Edinburgh in 1884, suggested ceremonies were common in this period as it was a way to 'demonstrate the independence of the great cities from central government, and to celebrate a tradition of municipal freedom which could be traced back to the Anglo-Saxons.'[143] This reinforces the role of municipal locality in ceremonies, particularly as a way to perform their increasing power in this period.

David Cannadine was one of the first post-war historians to consider the power of ceremony as a way of reinforcing identity, which he described as 'energetically inventing tradition.'[144] Tim Edensor has suggested that by 'conceiving symbolic sites as *stages*, we can explore *where* identity is dramatized, broadcast, shared and reproduced.'[145] Both Cannadine and Hammerton indicate ceremonies were largely constructed by the upper classes, 'such ceremonial occasions may be seen not as the embodiment of shared consensus, but as propaganda on behalf of a particular value system.' [146] The public was a crucial part of ceremony in terms of their attendance, but their agency often did not go beyond this.

The Bannockburn Memorial in Ceres, dedicated to local men who fought in the battle, was unveiled on the 27 June 1914, which was the Saturday closest to the anniversary of the battle.[147] *The Courier and Argus* reported a crowd 'not far short of ten thousand' with 'visitors from many parts.'[148] This suggests that though this monument commemorated a local connection to the town, it still had wider appeal. There was music at the unveiling, provided by the Dysart Town Silver Band and the Lochgelly Public Pipe Band.[149] During the unveiling

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[142] Edensor, *National Identity,* 73; R. Anderson, (2008) 'Ceremony in Context: The Edinburgh University Tercentenary, 1884,' *SHR* 87, 123; D. Cannadine, (1982) 'The Transformation of Civic Ritual in Modern Britain: The Colchester Oyster Feast,' *Past & Present* 94, 128.
[143] Anderson, 'Ceremony in Context,' 123.
[144] Cannadine, 'Transformation of Civic Ritual,' 128.
[145] Edensor, *National Identity*, 69.
[146] E. Hammerton and D. Cannadine, (1981) 'Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897,' *The Historical Journal* 24:1, 113.
[147] 'Bannockburn Memorial at Ceres,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), Sat 27 Jun 1914.
[148] 'Ceres Games and Horse Races,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 29 Jun 1914.
[149] 'Ceres Games and Horse Races,' 29 Jun 1914.

the memorial was draped in 'a mantle of blue and white,' and saltire flags were flown from mastheads, suggesting a distinctly Scottish feeling at the ceremony.[150] This seems to differ from the celebrations for the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn held on the same day, which were outlined in the previous section, where every effort was made to reinforce unionism. Perhaps because the Ceres Bannockburn Memorial was viewed as a local monument this display of Scottishness was more acceptable than at the actual battle site, which was viewed as more of a national celebration. A list of the notable people who were in attendance was published, again showing how there were societal expectations attached to the attendance of commemorative events.

The monument was unveiled by the Earl of Crawford.[151] This is an example of ancestral locality, as the Lindsay family had historical ties to Fife, as well as the Wars of Independence. Crawford was a Conservative politician, and he held a seat in Lancashire, including working as chief whip, until he joined the peerage in 1913.[152] Crawford also displayed an interest in the historical past, though his efforts were largely based in London. He was influential in the creation of the Victoria and Albert Museum, a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery, and he published several books about art and sculpture.[153] Later, Crawford's political career would end following his support of Lloyd George.[154]

In his speech, Crawford suggested they were there to 'celebrate an anniversary great in the history of Scotland and great in the history of Ceres.'[155] He also spoke of the strong sense of 'tradition' Ceres had in its history, saying it was 'fortunate in being one of those small communities which had inherited,

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[150] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 29 Jun 1914.
[151] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 29 Jun 1914.
[152] J. Ridley, (2004) 'Lindsay, David Alexander Edward, twenty-seventh earl of Crawford and tenth earl of Balcarres,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34539.
[153] Ridley, 'Lindsay, David Alexander Edward,' *ODNB*.
[154] Ridley, 'Lindsay, David Alexander Edward,' *ODNB*.
[155] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' 29 Jun 1914.

and which to that day still cherished, high traditions.'[156] He called this the 'real lesson of the great anniversary…that they should cherish and maintain all that was good and noble in the traditions handed down from their ancestors.'[157] The monument was unveiled following Crawford's speech, and the band played 'Scots Wha Hae,' which the crowd apparently sang along to, a scene similar to that at Dunfermline nearly a century earlier, though this may have been exaggerated for effect.[158] It is also noteworthy that Burns' song was equally relevant to these two ceremonies that occurred a century apart. A local man, Ralph Richardson, formally thanked Crawford, and said his family had long been important in the area, before saying 'an ancestor of the present Earl was a friend of Robert the Bruce and a companion of William Wallace. Another ancestor was one of those Scottish Barons who sealed a letter to the Pope demanding the independence of Scotland.'[159] Therefore, the Earl was not only an important local figure, but was also related on two different lines to figures from the Wars of Independence. He thus had local ties to the area, which showed personal locality, as well as familial ties to the cause, displaying ancestral locality. In addition to these examples of locality, the unveiling of the Ceres Bannockburn Memorial also displayed a distinctly Scottish celebration, in comparison to the examples seen thus far that promoted the Union.

The next example is the Wallace Statue in Aberdeen, which was unveiled in June 1888 by the Marquis of Lorne, who also received the freedom of the city that day 'in recognition of the Council's high appreciation of his personal character and his services while Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.'[160] This unveiling occurred during a time when there was a clear sense of Scotland's crucial role within the Empire, so the celebration of a figure from the Empire is unsurprising in this climate.[161] The unveiling of the statue was named a holiday in Aberdeen and 'excursion trains were advertised from

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[156] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' 29 Jun 1914.
[157] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' 29 Jun 1914.
[158] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' 29 Jun 1914.
[159] 'Memorial Unveiled at Ceres,' 29 Jun 1914.
[160] 'Freedom of Aberdeen City to Lord Lorne,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 22 May 1888.
[161] Finlay, 'National Identity,' 283.

Edinburgh and elsewhere.'[162] The presentation of the Freedom of the City and the declaration of a holiday shows the role of the city council in the ceremony. The day was as much about celebrating the town as it was about Wallace, which reveals the increasing power towns in Scotland had by the end of the nineteenth century. Given the national attention in the media, and the excursion trains, Aberdeen was portrayed in a positive light on the national stage.

The speech given by Lorne was printed in the newspaper, and the extensive talk covered many subjects. Towards the end of his speech, Lorne was careful to note the importance of the Union, 'we do not deplore that union came so late, perhaps because the generations who influenced our lives lived before union took place, and we are able to see and enjoy the benefits of union without participation in the hardships endured during the wars consequent on separation.'[163] This is another example of the view that places the Wars of Independence on a direct line that led to the Union. The praise for the Union and celebration of a figure from the Empire, all suggest this was a form of identity-building dedicated to Scotland as a crucial part of the Empire.

The next case study is the Kinghorn Monument in Fife, whose opening ceremony was similar to the opening of the Wallace statue in Aberdeen in a number of ways. The statue was unveiled in 1887, the year before the unveiling of the Wallace statue. The two men who unveiled the statue, the Earl of Elgin and William Nelson, were both awarded the freedom of the city.[164] Kinghorn is approximately fifteen miles from Dunfermline so the Elgin family was likely involved because of their connection to the local area. The day itself was a holiday in the town, and 'flags and bunting were visible at every corner.'[165] During the unveiling, the Provost gave a speech where he said the monument was 'subscribed to by all the classes,' indicating the high level of involvement

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[162] 'The Wallace Statue for Aberdeen,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 4 Jun 1888.
[163] 'The Wallace Statue for Aberdeen,' 4 Jun 1888.
[164] 'King Alexander III. Monument,' *Edinburgh Evening News* (Edinburgh), 5 Jul 1887; This Earl of Elgin was the ninth – the son of the Earl who had been involved with laying the plaque over Bruce's tomb at Dunfermline and the great-grandson of the Earl involved in the reinterment of Bruce's bones.
[165] 'Unveiling of Monument to King Alexander III,' *The Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 20 Jul 1887.

from the public, though the extent to which this is accurate is unclear.[166] The ceremonial activities also extended beyond Fife on the day of the unveiling, and 'at noon a Royal salute of 21 guns was fired from the Half Moon Battery at Edinburgh Castle.'[167] Though there are several examples of municipal locality in this unveiling, particularly that the day was declared a holiday in the town, this effort in Edinburgh also shows the national appeal of this monument. The widespread interest in the Kinghorn and Aberdeen monuments, which both occurred during the crucial 1880s, also demonstrate the interest in the Wars at the end of the nineteenth century in that people were not only building monuments and statues but also coming out for the ceremonies surrounding them.

The next case study is the National Wallace Monument, which had two significant ceremonies during its creation. These ceremonies have both been outlined elsewhere, but they are worth considering here in comparison to the other monument unveilings.[168] The laying of the foundation stone took place on 24 June 1861, which is the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[169] One of the main speakers at the ceremony was Reverend Charles Rogers, who was also elected to the town council in Stirling in this year.[170] Rogers had been an active member of the NAVSR and it was he who first suggested Abbey Craig as a potential site for the monument.[171] In the same year as this ceremony he would be accused of using finances from the monument for his own gain.[172] Rogers also showed a keen interest in Scottish history, and he founded the Royal Historical Society and the Grampian Club, though these were also plagued with scandal.[173] He wrote several books dedicated to Scottish history, but most

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166 'Unveiling of Monument to King Alexander III,' 20 Jul 1887.
167 'Unveiling of Monument to King Alexander III,' 20 Jul 1887.
168 Coleman, *Remembering the Past*; Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities*.
169 Ross, 'Wallace's Monument,' 90
170 H. Paton, (2004) 'Rogers, Charles,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23968.
171 Paton, 'Rogers, Charles,' *ODNB*.
172 Paton, 'Rogers, Charles,' *ODNB*.
173 Paton, 'Rogers, Charles,' *ODNB*.

notable for this thesis is his account of the building of the Wallace Monument.[174] Unsurprisingly, given the scandal surrounding his life, Rogers was heavily criticised for his speech on the day of the laying of the foundation stone, largely because of the 'expressions of national self-regard and the anti-Unionist sentiment.'[175] Following a number of personal and professional issues and a legal dispute, he left Scotland four years later and moved to London until 1881.[176]

The unveiling of the monument was held on 11 September 1869, a full eight years after the laying of the foundation stone. As previously mentioned, this delay was due to the infighting within the committee responsible for the monument. A formal ceremony was held first, with 'almost 100 gentlemen present.'[177] Perhaps because of the memory of Rogers' speech, the (ninth) Earl of Elgin, who was the chair of the committee for the monument, said in his speech, 'I believe, therefore, that if the whole truth were to be told in this matter, we might show that England owes to Wallace and Bruce a debt of obligation only second to that which is due to them by Scotland.'[178] That evening the monument was lit up and there was a fireworks display, a very public element of the celebrations.[179] An article from the *Stirling Observer*, however, suggests not everyone was pleased with the ceremony, saying the monument was inaugurated 'under circumstances utterly void of public demonstration or enthusiasm. The occasion was in striking contrast to the memorable event when the foundation stone was laid.'[180] The article suggests there was not a public show of support for the monument. This may have been because of the closed ceremony, where only a few elite men were allowed, or as a result of the years of controversy surrounding the monument. This also suggests that though newspapers often portrayed large and excited crowds at these events, they

[174] C. Rogers, (1889) *The Book of Wallace* (London: The Grampian Club).
[175] Ross, 'Wallace's Monument,' 91
[176] Paton, 'Rogers, Charles,' *ODNB*.
[177] Unknown title, *Stirling Observer* (Stirling), 16 Sep 1869.
[178] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 268, quoted in Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, 177
[179] Unknown title, *Stirling Journal* (Stirling), 17 Sep 1869.
[180] Unknown title, *Stirling Observer*, 16 Sep 1869.

occasionally still reported when crowds were unhappy or did not attend. This gives some validity to the reports on crowd reactions during this period.

Conclusion

Overall, monument unveilings illustrate the interplay between local and national interests in the Wars of Independence. Many show how towns benefitted from these ceremonies, as they were a way of showcasing the town in a positive light both in the press and for visitors who attended the ceremony. The national interest in these monuments is particularly clear in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as illustrated by the excursion trains to Aberdeen, the salute for Kinghorn from Edinburgh Castle, and the coverage of these events in national newspapers. In addition to this municipal locality, examples of personal and ancestral locality were also evident in the decision of who would make speeches at the events. There was also further nuance added to the role of the public in this section, including the suggestion that they would occasionally refuse to participate in commemorative acts, such as at the unveiling of the National Wallace Monument. This also illustrates how the reaction of the public to these commemorative acts were not always positive, or they did not always understand why they were being built. There was also the indication that women were banned from some aspects of commemoration, regardless of their class status, as they were at the unveiling of the Wallace Monument. Finally, the influence of the political climate is also evident in these ceremonies, both in the speeches as well as who was invited to participate and speak at them. Praise for the Union and the Empire were common, and the only example of a speech containing anti-Union sentiments was heavily criticised.

4.3: Conclusion

This chapter has considered the role of ceremonies in the commemoration of the Wars of Independence. Locality was visible in a number of examples in this chapter. The role of ancestral locality in commemoration

was seen in the involvement of ancestors of Bruce and Wallace in ceremonies, particularly the Elgin family. Ancestry could also be used to create a hierarchy of commemorative actions. It was members of the elite who could locate their ancestry, and therefore were the only ones who could participate in this type of locality. Class status played a significant role in commemoration, and ancestral locality was just one way in which it could be reinforced. Personal locality was evident in Carnegie's donations to the acts of commemoration at Dunfermline, though only those of Wallace. Municipal locality was particularly clear in the monument unveilings, which became as much of a celebration of the town as the monument.

This chapter also revealed further ways members of the public were involved and excluded from commemorations. People participated in processions and attended ceremonies, even potentially altering the course of the day by spontaneously bursting into song, but they were also excluded from some elements, such as dinners and private receptions. The influence of the public was also felt in their contributions to subscription campaigns, or occasionally by refusing to contribute to them. The differing gender roles could also be seen, particularly when women were excluded from the private ceremony prior to the unveiling of the Wallace Monument. There were also examples where the public largely did not support the building of monuments, as was seemingly the case during the unveiling of the Wallace Monument.

Though monuments are a popular topic for those writing about commemoration, the unveilings of are not always included in the discussion. Studying the unveilings reveals some of the contemporary attitudes towards the monuments, both in terms of the level of celebration and the extent to which they were reported by newspapers. It also indicates the different class roles in commemoration, as one's involvement with the ceremony tended to be determined by class. Ceremonies in general also reveal the complicated political situation during this period in Scotland, where some of the smaller monument's ceremonies, such as at Ceres, could display a strong Scottish nationalism, whereas the national ceremonies, such as at Bannockburn, needed to display the role of the battle in the eventual union – however tangential this link may

be. By considering the role of ceremony in the commemoration of the Wars of Independence, this chapter has aimed to show the value in studying this type of commemorative act.

Chapter Five
Moveable Commemorations – The Materiality of Memory

The final types of commemoration that will be considered in this thesis are those that are moveable and can be passed between people and locations. The portability of these commemorations is crucial as it creates the possibility that many members of the public may have interacted with them. The extent to which each of these types of sources were moved around is, of course, variable. Texts lend themselves to being passed between friends and family members, whereas paintings tend to hang in one location for long periods of time. That being said, a book can be bought, placed on a shelf, and never read. Rigney has argued texts can become a type of 'portable monument,' and she has called for work to be done on 'the way in which literary texts work alongside other memorial forms.'[1] This is a central facet of this thesis, that only by studying various forms of commemoration alongside others can the impact of commemoration be fully understood. In particular, this chapter will engage in this by considering how printed materials and other moveable acts of commemoration were produced, consumed, and used alongside the acts of commemoration already outlined in this thesis.

This chapter has three sections. The first will be concerned with printed materials, and includes discussions of club books, novels, editions of Hary and Barbour's poems, chapbooks, poetry, scores, plays, and illustrations. The second section will consider paintings of people and events from the Wars of Independence, and how various depictions of the Wars may have influenced public understanding of them. The final section of this chapter will look at relics associated with the Wars, which appeared at a number of exhibitions and ceremonies throughout this period, particularly in the nineteenth century. Though they are not themselves acts of commemoration, the display of these relics became sites of commemoration.

Central to this chapter is the question of how much access the public had to different types of commemoration, and to what extent they had agency over

[1] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 369.

what they were hearing, seeing, and learning about the Wars of Independence. As has been the case throughout this thesis, the upper classes largely influenced commemorations, which they were able to do through their social connections and access to funds. The creation of these acts of commemoration were also almost exclusively the preserve of men. McCrone has suggested this is the role of the 'intelligentsia,' 'to furnish "maps" of the community, its history, destiny and place.'[2] In other words, since the creation and reinforcement of identity was in the hands of these powerful men, they partially used commemorative acts as a way to illustrate this commemorative 'map' to other members of the public. As will become clear in this chapter, however, there were ways in which different classes and genders could have control over the types of commemorations they interacted with, and how.

5.1: Texts

This section focuses on material that is contained in the form of a book and printed by a publisher, though these could be fiction, non-fiction, prose, poetry, or plays. The texts included in this section are those that can be considered commemorative, rather than those that included information about the Wars of Independence. Texts are commemorative when they are memorialising the past, such as the club books that collected primary documents for the sake of preservation, or the new editions of the poems of Barbour and Hary, which often modernised the language to make them more accessible. Texts are also commemorative when they reinvent stories from the past, such as novels and chapbooks, which reframe history to appeal to a modern reader.

Nineteenth-century texts have often been overshadowed by the considerable amount of literature published during the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century.[3] This chapter will join a growing number of studies that

[2] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 266.
[3] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes*, 8.

argue against the dismissal of the nineteenth century as less intellectual or less influential than the eighteenth century.[4] Robert Crawford has suggested this view often leads Scottish people to 'undervalue [their] literary or cultural history.'[5] In contrast, William Donaldson, in his work on the growth of the press in the nineteenth century suggests that , 'virtually a cottage-industry in 1800, it [the press industry] developed by the end of the century into a large-scale capital-intensive business of considerable technological sophistication.'[6]

This section will consider six different types of texts. The first are club books that contained reprinted primary documents, which will be considered within the context of the club culture that existed in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The second section considers the historical novels of Walter Scott and Jane Porter, both of whom helped popularise the genre. The third section analyses contemporary editions of the poems *The Bruce* and *Wallace*, particularly their paratext, as a way to consider how primary sources were modernised and shared during this period. The fourth section focuses on chapbooks, which were inexpensive booklets that were made to be purchased cheaply and passed between people. The fifth section considers the printed versions of contemporary poems, song books, and plays, which give insights into the performative elements of commemoration. The final section looks at the illustrations of some of these texts, to determine how figures and events from the Wars were portrayed in this period.

Club Books

The publishing clubs of nineteenth-century Scotland are nearly synonymous with the term 'antiquarian' itself. The history of the clubs has been well studied, as they represent some of the beginnings of the interest in the

[4] W. Donaldson, (1986) *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press), xii.
[5] R. Crawford, (2007) *Scotland's Books* (London: Penguin Books), 3.
[6] Donaldson, *Popular Literature*, xii.

Scottish past that characterises this period.[7] The publishing clubs of the nineteenth century grew out of a culture of clubs that existed in Scotland during the Enlightenment.[8] In 1909, Charles Sanford Terry, who later wrote a history of Scotland that was mentioned in Chapter Two, released a book listing the outputs of the publishing clubs of Scotland during the wider antiquarian period.[9] In the Prefatory Note, he divided the clubs into three distinct periods, 'Pre-Waverley, Waverley, and Post-Waverley.'[10] These names are noticeably illustrative of Scott's ever-present shadow over the period as they are named after one of his best-known novels. The Pre-Waverley stage refers to the late eighteenth-century shift away from Enlightenment clubs centred on ideas to the establishment of more historically-focused clubs, dedicated to collecting rare books and documents. The central concern of this study are the clubs of the 'Waverley' period in the early to mid-nineteenth century, which coincided with the wider growing interest in Scottish history.[11] These clubs were dedicated to collating and publishing historical documents.

Walter Scott was essential in the formation of the first club of the Waverley period. Following his popularity as a historical novelist, he was invited to join the Roxburghe Club in London.[12] Scott saw the potential to combine this club culture with the growing interest in the historical past and in 1823 he established a sister club of the Roxburghe in Edinburgh, the Bannatyne Club.[13] Similar clubs followed in quick succession across Scotland: Northern Institute (Inverness, 1825), Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1828), Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1833), Iona Club (Edinburgh, 1833), Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1839), Woodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1841), and Spottiswoode Society (Edinburgh, 1843).[14] The membership of these clubs consisted of characteristic antiquaries. They were elite men, often lawyers, though there was effort to

[7] For full introduction see: Ash, *Strange Death;* Marsden, *Cosmo Innes;* Terry, *Catalogue of Publications.*
[8] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 28
[9] Terry, *Catalogue of Publications*.
[10] Terry, *Catalogue of Publications*, vii.
[11] Terry, *Catalogue of Publications*, viii.
[12] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 39
[13] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 39.
[14] Terry, *Catalogue of Publications*, viii

include historians and publishers.[15] Membership did vary slightly based on geography, such as the Maitland Club in Glasgow, which had a much stronger mercantilist membership base.[16] The clubs were socially very influential, and membership expanded rapidly.[17]

Beyond the social benefits, the official purpose of the clubs was to publish historical documents. This was already occurring to some extent, both by the 'Pre-Waverley' clubs, and through the project to publish the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland,* which was in progress throughout almost the entire first half of the nineteenth century.[18] This collection, edited by Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes, was published between 1814 and 1875, and contained 'any material judged to be law or in any way parliamentary between 1124 and 1707.'[19] This project, largely undertaken by Thomson, was 'monumental' given the time and condition of the archives and sources.[20] The desire to collate historical documents, whether through the *Acts of the Parliament* or club books, is reflective of both the bibliographic desire to collect rare books and documents, as well as the need to create a more cohesive timeline of Scottish history.[21] The forming of a cohesive narrative of the history of Scotland was part of the ongoing desire to show the importance of Scottish history, particularly in terms of how it 'led' to the Union. Ash identified the importance of the clubs in undertaking the collation of these historical documents, and 'the conservative nature of the club should not blind us to the radical nature of the service it performed.'[22] By publishing their own books, ostensibly only for members of their club, they were creating rare books to collect, but they were also promoting the wider importance of the study of history, including Scottish history. Of course, not all of the works produced by

[15] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 31.
[16] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 34
[17] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 32
[18] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 29-30.
[19] G.H. MacIntosh, A.J. Mann, R.J. Tanner, 'Editorial Introduction,' *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, http://www.rps.ac.uk.
[20] MacIntosh, et al, 'Editorial Introduction.'
[21] Ferris, 'Printing the Past,' 144.
[22] Ash, 'Scott and Historical Publishing,' 39.

the clubs were focused on Scotland, but the number was far greater than had ever existed before.

The clubs were incredibly prolific. Altogether, the eight clubs of the 'Waverley' period produced no fewer than 284 volumes in less than fifty years.[23] Only six of these, however, contained information about the Wars of Independence. Since the club books are based on documents, it is likely that this was due to a relative lack of documents from the fourteenth century. Of these six books, three were penned by one author, Joseph Stevenson of the Maitland Club. Upon reflection of Stevenson's biography, his affinity for topics related to the Wars of Independence is somewhat surprising. He was born in Berwick-upon-Tweed, educated in Durham, then returned to Berwick to enter the Church of Scotland.[24] On holiday in London he suddenly transferred his allegiance to the Church of England and became a clergyman, before eventually joining the Roman Catholic Church in 1862.[25] He died as a Jesuit in Oxford, having completely disowned his Scottish ancestry.[26] All this from the man who wrote more about the Wars of Independence than all other antiquaries combined. That being said, Stevenson's focus was not entirely on the Wars of Independence. He edited and wrote many volumes for various clubs including the Scottish Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, and the English Roxburghe Club, about a wide range of topics.[27]

The first club book with a reference to the Wars of Independence is the 1830 Maitland Club publication, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland*.[28] It was edited by John W. Mackenzie, a solicitor from Edinburgh who collected early Scottish books.[29] Bruce's life is briefly summarised over two pages amongst the

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[23] Terry, *Catalogue of Publications*.
[24] F. Edwards, (2004) 'Stevenson, Joseph,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/26434.
[25] Edwards, 'Stevenson,' *ODNB*.
[26] Edwards, 'Stevenson,' *ODNB*.
[27] Edwards, 'Stevenson,' *ODNB*.
[28] Mackenzie, *Kings of Scotland*.
[29] 'Mackenzie, John Whitefoord (1794 -1884),' British Armorial Bindings, University of Toronto Libraries, accessed 4 September 2017, https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca/stamp-owners/MAC007.

list of kings. It mentions the key points in his reign, including his dispute with John Comyn, raids into England, the Battle of Bannockburn, his brother's campaigns in Ireland.[30] The second mention in a club book is also relatively small, and appeared in the 1834 Maitland Club's *Illustrations of Scottish History, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century,* by the aforementioned Stevenson.[31] Documents from this book include 'Extracts from the Patent Rolls of Edward the First, relative to Scotland' and 'Account of the capture and execution of William Wallace'.[32] There was no contextual information given in the book about the documents.

The third club book that contained information about the Wars of Independence was Stevenson's reproduction of *Scalacronica*, produced for the Maitland Club.[33] In the preface Stevenson highlights the importance of publishing Scottish documents, saying that those studying Scottish history find the lack of available documentary evidence frustrating.[34] It is slightly odd, however, that Stevenson is asserting this statement in the introduction to the *Salacronica* since it is an English chronicle. Further, despite a discussion of some of the events of the Wars, the chronicle does not mention Bruce and is highly biased towards the English side. For example, 'in the year 1314, being at the disastrous battle of Bannockburn.'[35] No Scottish chronicle has ever referred to Bannockburn as 'disastrous.'

It was not until 1841 that a volume was published that focused solely on the Wars of Independence, *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace, his life and times.*[36] It was collated by Stevenson for the Maitland Club. In the introduction Stevenson compared the legacies of Wallace and Bruce, 'without pretending for a moment to draw a contrast between the characters of Wallace

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[30] Mackenzie, *Kings of Scotland*, 63-65.
[31] J. Stevenson, (1834) *Illustrations of Scottish History, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century* (Glasgow: Maitland Club).
[32] Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*, 36, 54.
[33] J. Stevenson, (1836) *Scalacronica: By Sir Thomas Grey of Heton, Knight* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, Maitland Club).
[34] Stevenson, *Scalacronica*, i.
[35] Stevenson, *Scalacronica*, xviii.
[36] J. Stevenson, (1841) *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace, his life and times* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing Company, Maitland Club).

and of Bruce, we may be permitted to remark that, when placed in juxtaposition, the former is the more interesting personage.'[37] In addition to largely reflecting the sentiments of the time, it is perhaps not surprising that Wallace is said to be more interesting than Bruce in the foreword to a book about Wallace. Stevenson went on to say that he is more interesting because there is so little documentary evidence about him, 'the deficiency of authentic information respecting him yet further stimulates inquiry, and the manner in which authentic history has confessedly become mingled with traditional lore, still further conspires to make the truth worth investigating.'[38] This comment is illustrative of the intentions of the antiquaries in terms of focusing on the 'authentic' history rather than the folklore; or, promoting accuracy over significance. Finally, Stevenson stressed the need for a proper study and translation of Hary's *Wallace*, calling into question its historical accuracy.[39] Despite this claim, modern translations had already been undertaken, as will be discussed shortly, though perhaps Stevenson did not deem them worthy. No version of Hary's poem is included in Stevenson's volume.

The next book was published by the Bannatyne Club in 1850. Harry Laing's *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* included the privy seal and signet of Bruce, and a brief amount of context.[40] The final club book containing information about the Wars of Independence was published by the Spalding Club. Cosmo Innes produced a version of John Barbour's *The Bruce* in 1856.[41] This book will be discussed in greater length in the subsequent section about editions of Barbour and Hary.

Looking at these six examples as a whole, perhaps most striking is the focus on Wallace, especially from the Maitland Club. As mentioned above, this club was located in Glasgow and featured a stronger mercantile membership than other clubs. Wallace was not only from the west of Scotland but is also

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[37] Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace*, xi.
[38] Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace*, x.
[39] Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace*, xiii.
[40] H. Laing, (1850) *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* (Edinburgh: T. Constable, Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs).
[41] C. Innes, (1856) *The Brus* (Aberdeen: William Bennet, Spalding Club).

more of a 'everyman' than Bruce, which likely accounts for his popularity within the Maitland Club. Though Bruce is mentioned in several of the books, there is not the same full account of documents associated with him that can be seen for Wallace. Innes' edition of *The Bruce* is the best example, but there are many more documents concerning Bruce that could have been collated in a similar manner to Stevenson's book dedicated to Wallace. That this did not happen is another example of Bruce's general lack of popularity in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

In 1870 the Spalding Club was officially disbanded, signalling the end of the 'Waverley period' of antiquarian clubs. In its place came the historical clubs and societies, including the Scottish Burgh Records Society (1868), Grampian Club (1868), Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association (1877), New Club (1877), Aungervyle Society (1881), Clarendon Historical Society (1882), Scottish Text Society (1882), and the Scottish History Society (1886).[42] These societies largely followed the club tradition of publishing historical material, though with more specified geographical and temporal limits.[43] These were also often relatively short-lived, and when the Scottish History Society was formed in 1886 the only other active societies were the Grampian Club and the New Club.[44] The Scottish History Society outlived both of these and continues to publish material on Scottish history today.

Though club books were some of the first published materials on the Wars of Independence, it was by no means the most popular topic. Though they published a wealth of historical material, clubs also represented spaces where members of the general public were largely unable to engage in commemoration of the Wars of Independence. The exclusive nature of the membership, and limited printings of the club books, purposefully barred much of society.

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[42] G. Donaldson, (1986) 'A Lang Pedigree: An Essay to Mark the Centenary of the Scottish History Society 1886-1986,' *SHR* 65, 14.
[43] Donaldson, 'A Lang Pedigree,' 15.
[44] Donaldson, 'A Lang Pedigree,' 15.

This section will consider various nineteenth century editions of the two main medieval sources that are available for the Wars of Independence – Barbour's *The Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*. There are a number of similarities between these texts: they are both poems, they were both written after their subjects had died (nearly two centuries, in the case of Hary), and they are both the best contemporary sources available for their subjects. The poems also have a similar publishing history to one another. The earliest existing versions of *The Bruce* come in the form of two manuscripts from the fifteenth century, known as the Edinburgh manuscript and the (incomplete) Cambridge manuscript, both of which are thought to have been transcribed by John Ramsey in the 1480s.[45] The one medieval edition of *Wallace* is contained within the Edinburgh manuscript of *The Bruce*.[46] Jeremy Smith, Graeme Morton and Michael Penman have outlined the publishing history of the poems through to the nineteenth century. *Wallace* was published more widely than *The Bruce* in terms of geographical reach, variety of printers, and numbers of copies.[47] According to Morton, there were thirty-seven editions of *Wallace* published between 1488 (the Edinburgh manuscript) and 1968 (from the Scottish Text Society).[48] Penman, drawing from Brunsden's work, has completed a similar survey of editions of *The Bruce,* which had twenty editions between its first publication in 1571 and 1800.[49] Though there were several editions of *The Bruce* printed in the nineteenth century, it continued to trail the scale of the dissemination of *Wallace*.

A common question in the nineteenth century, and indeed today, is the extent to which the information in these poems can be taken as accurate. The accuracy of Hary's *Wallace* has been questioned since the sixteenth century, likely because it was written nearly two centuries after Wallace's death, but it

[45] Smith, 'Textual Afterlives,' 39.
[46] Morton, *National Tale*, 49.
[47] Morton, *National Tale*, 52; Smith, 'Textual Afterlives,' 51.
[48] Morton, *National Tale*, 51-2.
[49] G.M. Brunsden, (2000) 'Aspects of Scotland's Social and Cultural Scene in the Late 19th and Early 18th Centuries, as Mirrored in the Wallace and Bruce Tradition,' in *The Polar Twins*, ed. E.J. Cowan (East Linton: Tuckwell Press), 88-9, cited in Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 2.

was not until the end of the eighteenth century that questions arose about Barbour's poem.[50] This question of accuracy was being considered in the introductions to many of these nineteenth-century editions. Today, Barbour and Hary are used to help corroborate other historical sources, rather than as definitive sources themselves, but this approach was still being formed in the nineteenth century.

Studies of the various editions of *Wallace* and *The Bruce* have tended to focus on the text of the poem itself. What can be equally revealing, however, is the information that accompanied the texts, including dedications, prefaces, notes, and other contextual information. This paratext can reveal the attitudes of the editors, and the sort of information that was available to the reader, and it will largely be the focus of the following discussion.

One of the best-known versions of *Wallace* is Hamilton of Gilbertfield's modernisation of the text from 1722.[51] This edition was popular during the first half of the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the ten new editions printed between 1802 and 1857, reflecting the popularity of Wallace during this initial period of interest in the Wars.[52] The names given to the poems in this period were never the simple *Wallace* and *The Bruce* currently in use, but rather long and descriptive titles. Hamilton's version of *Wallace* is entitled *The History of the Life and Adventures and Heroic Actions of the renowned Sir William Wallace*. This 1812 edition includes an eighteen-page outline of the Wars of Independence in the introduction, calling it 'the most famous war, that ever fell out in the isle of Britain.'[53] This history of the Wars is largely focused on the various allegiances of Bruce and his family members, and the author is careful to note all of the times they allegedly fought on the side of the English army, perhaps to set-up the climactic scene when Bruce turns against the English in the text.[54] This history of the Wars only outlines events to the end of the Battle of Bannockburn,

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[50] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 2
[51] W. Hamilton, ed. (1812) *The History of the Life and Adventures and Heroic Actions of the renowned Sir William Wallace* (Edinburgh: J. Ogle).
[52] Morton, *National Tale*, 52.
[53] Hamilton, *William Wallace*, i.
[54] Hamilton, *William Wallace*, viii-xi.

which was also the case in the history texts of this period discussed in Chapter Two. It also reflects Barbour's text, as he concludes his narrative shortly after the battle.[55] The introduction also addresses concerns about the historical accuracy of the texts, suggesting that 'although they possibly err in some circumstances of time, place, and number or names of men, they generally write the truth of the story of those times.'[56]

Hamilton dedicated his modernisation of the poem to 'The High, Puissant, and most Noble, Prince James,' referring to James Francis Edward Stuart, or the Old Pretender, who attempted to regain the crown in the 1715 Jacobite Rising, which is perhaps revealing of Hamilton's political leanings given that his version was originally published just seven years later. The 1812 edition includes the text of *The Bruce*, though this was not always the case as another edition from 1820, published in New York, features only *Wallace*.[57]

In the same year, John Jamieson released an edition of both poems that was not modernised.[58] It contained two volumes, one for each of the poems. Jamieson's versions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace* are both based on the Edinburgh manuscript and the editions include notes, a biography of Barbour, and a glossary. Jamieson was an active antiquary and a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the American Antiquarian Society.[59] An example of ancestral locality is evident in the dedications. The volume of *The Bruce* is dedicated 'to the most noble the Marchioness of Stafford, Countess of Sutherland…A lineal descendant of the illustrious hero of the following work.'[60] Jamieson's version of *Wallace* was dedicated 'To the most noble the Marchioness of Hastings, Countess of Loudoun…Amongst whose

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[55] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 1.
[56] Hamilton, *William Wallace*, xiii
[57] W. Hamilton, ed. (1820) *The History of the Life and Adventures and Heroic Actions of the renowned Sir William Wallace* (New York: William W. Crawford).
[58] J. Jamieson, ed. (1820) *The Bruce; and Wallace; published from two ancient manuscripts preserved in the library of the Faculty of Advocates with notes, biographical sketches, and a glossary*, volume one (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co); J. Jamieson, ed. (1820) *The Bruce; and Wallace; published from two ancient manuscripts preserved in the library of the Faculty of Advocates with notes, biographical sketches, and a glossary*, volume two (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co).
[59] Jamieson, *The Bruce; and Wallace*, vol one.
[60] Jamieson, *The Bruce; and Wallace*, vol one.

paternal honours it is not the least, that she is the representative of the ancient family of Crawford of Loudoun, one of whom gave birth to the renowned and immortal William Wallace.'[61] That the book was dedicated to descendants of Bruce and Wallace shows the weight given to ancestral connections in this period. Since the connection with Wallace was not as direct as with Bruce, it is noteworthy that the author tried to include ancestral connections in both.

There are also a number of editions published in this period that featured only *The Bruce* or *Wallace*. As referenced above, in 1856, Cosmo Innes collated the Cambridge and Edinburgh manuscripts of *The Bruce* into one document for the Spalding Club.[62] He also modernised the text and his edition included a preface and notes. The preface began with Innes reassuring the reader of the accuracy of the following information, 'the little that we know of the author of the "Story of the Brus" is derived from the most authentic sources.'[63] Innes then discussed the early reception of the poem, first saying that after it was written it quickly became popular 'and what is more remarkable…was at once adopted as authentic history.'[64] He also suggested Bower and Wyntoun were aware of the poem when compiling their chronicles.[65] This is little evidence for this, however. Innes also gave a summary of the story, before a publishing history of the poem.[66] He then justified modernising the text of the poem, as opposed to Jamieson's printing of the original text, saying he hoped this would be 'one step towards restoring a fine national poem to its former popularity, which editions like Dr Jamieson's would render for ever [*sic*] hopeless.'[67] At the end of the preface Innes explained why he undertook this project, despite his lack of experience in translation, 'I trust it will be allowed that, for many reasons, a Scotsman was the proper editor of

[61] Jamieson, *The Bruce; and Wallace*, vol two.
[62] Innes, *The Brus*.
[63] Innes, *The Brus*, iii.
[64] Innes, *The Brus*, vi.
[65] Innes, *The Brus*, vi.
[66] Innes, *The Brus*, xii-xiv.
[67] Innes, *The Brus*, xv.

Barbour's poem.'[68] It would seem that Innes would not put in this apology, as he describes it, without feeling that this was a potential criticism of his edition.

In 1870, Reverend Walter Skeat published an edition of *The Bruce* for the English Text Society.[69] This is one of the earliest editions to be called simply *The Bruce*, though there is a subtitle attached as well, '*or The Book of the most excellent and noble prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots*.'[70] Unlike Innes's edition, this version is taken mostly from the Cambridge manuscript.[71] Skeat says this is because the Cambridge manuscript, though incomplete, is 'the best authority for the true text…this was used to some extent by Professor Cosmo Innes, but have never till now been printed.'[72] This edition was published with very little extra material, but an 1889 edition includes a preface, with an apology from the author for not including it in the first edition.[73] This preface contains a biography of Barbour, which spans forty-five pages, as well as some historical context and a brief history of the manuscripts and printed editions of the poem.[74]

In 1861 Reverend J.S. Watson published an edition of *Wallace*, entitled *Sir William Wallace, the Scottish Hero: A Narrative of his Life and Actions*.[75] This version of the poem had been altered from Hary's original more than any of the other examples. It was not only modernised but presented in entirely contemporary language. Watson says this is in order to present Wallace's story to a wider audience, 'it is not written for the severe historical inquirer…The writer will be content if the story conveys to the reader the idea of Wallace which his countrymen have ever loved to cherish.'[76] Watson's introduction is much shorter than any of the other editions, which again shows the intention of

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[68] Innes, *The Brus*, xxxi.
[69] W.W. Skeat, ed. (1870) *The Bruce; or The Book of the most excellent and noble prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots* (London: The Early English Text Society).
[70] Skeat, *The Bruce* (1870).
[71] Skeat, *The Bruce* (1870), 'temporary notice.'
[72] Skeat, *The Bruce*, (1870), 'temporary notice.'
[73] W.W. Skeat, ed. (1889) *The Bruce; or The Book of the most excellent and noble prince, Robert de Broyss, King of Scots* (London: The Early English Text Society).
[74] Skeat, *The Bruce* (1889), 'preface.'
[75] J.S. Watson, ed. (1861) *Sir William Wallace, the Scottish Hero: A Narrative of is Life and Actions* (London: Saunders, Otley and Co).
[76] Watson, *Wallace*, iv.

the edition, as there did not need to be as much contextualisation because the story would be clearer.

These nineteenth century editions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace* can be split into two distinct groups. The first are those that are faithful reproductions of the original texts, to be used by the learned for study, such as Jameson's editions. They would have been more appealing to the antiquaries and historians who were able to engage with the language. The larger group are those editions that were modernised to be more accessible to a wider reading public, such as Hamilton, Skeat, and Watson's editions. This second group represents the interests of the public, who wanted to engage with stories of history during a time when it was viewed as increasingly important.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, both *The Bruce* and *Wallace* were declining in popularity, and their publishing history reflected this. Morton attributes this decline to new authors telling Wallace's story in ways 'better fitted to Victorian sensibilities: projecting the tale by means of the chapbook, the play and the narrative form.'[77] The remainder of this section will thus be focused on these new forms that 'projected' the tale, namely novels, chapbooks, and plays and other artistic forms.

Historical fiction

The natural starting place for any discussion of nineteenth-century historical fiction is the work of Walter Scott. He was involved in nearly every aspect of antiquarianism, including founding the first publishing club in Scotland, establishing two periodicals in Edinburgh, publishing on a wide array of events and people from Scottish history, and popularising document-based historical writing. His contemporaries were already feeling the effects of his influence. The Abbotsford Club was established in his memory in 1833, one year

[77] Morton, *National Tale*, 57.

after his death.[78] The Scott Monument in Edinburgh was opened in 1844.[79] In 1860 Cosmo Innes, while reflecting on the changing dynamic of Scotland within Britain, said 'the change in feeling – in kindliness towards us, the rise of a certain enthusiasm for Scotland, had its commencement no doubt in the works of Walter Scott.'[80]

Much of Scott's interests can be seen from his early influences. He was raised hearing family oral traditions, and this experience with storytelling and oral history would become part of his writing process.[81] He often spoke to local people when writing about different regions, and his letters reveal an extensive research trip he undertook while writing *Lord of the Isles*.[82] As a young man he became interested in German Romanticism, following a lecture given in 1788 by Henry Mackenzie at the Royal Society of Edinburgh.[83] David Hewitt has argued that this influence is what accounts for Scott's focus on national identities, which separated him from other Romantic writers such as Wordsworth and Coleridge.[84]

Scott wrote about the Wars of Independence in three of his works: *Lord of the Isles* (1815), *Tales of a Grandfather* (1828-31), and *Castle Dangerous* (1831). They are all different types of writing: poem, historical narrative, and novel, respectively. They also all feature Bruce more than Wallace, though neither are ever the protagonist. Two of the three works date from late in his career, and *Castle Dangerous* was the last novel to be published in his lifetime. Scott published at least thirty works, so three is by no means a large number,

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[78] Terry, *Catalogue of the Publications,* viii.
[79] N. Holmes, (1979) *The Scott Monument: A History and Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Museums and Art Galleries).
[80] Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, viii.
[81] D. Hewitt, (2004) 'Scott, Sir Walter,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24928.
[82] 'We have had a most delightful and instructive voyage, and have visited everything that is curious in the Scottish Isles from Shetland to Ilay, not to mention the Giant's Causeway on the Irish coast, which we saw yesterday. So I trust we shall be very soon ready to go to press with the Lord of the Isles.' 'Walter Scott to Archibald Constable,' 6 September 1814, in *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H.J.C. Grierson and D. Cook, third vol. (London: Constable), 489.
[83] Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter,' *ODNB*.
[84] Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter,' *ODNB*.

and he wrote more extensively on the Jacobite rebellions, the Crusades, and the Covenanting period.

Scott's first publication on the Wars of Independence was the poem *Lord of the Isles*, which told the story of Bruce from his rise to power in 1306 to the Battle of Bannockburn. Though the focus of the story is initially on the Lord of the Isles, Ronald, it eventually becomes evident to the reader that the real hero of the story is Bruce.[85] It was published in 1815, one year after the release of his first historical novel, *Waverley*, and the 500th anniversary of Bannockburn.[86] In his notes Scott mentioned beginning a poem about Bruce in 1811 or 1812, shortly after Jane Porter released her popular Wallace-based historical romance *The Scottish Chiefs*.[87] Perhaps he chose to release a poem focused on the Wars of Independence based on the popularity of her novel. It may have also been released as the antithesis to Porter – a poem rather than a romance, and a hero of Bruce rather than Wallace. Scott may have also simply preferred Bruce as a hero. Indeed, Bruce fit Scott's political affiliation as a unionist Tory more than Wallace did. Though Wallace was traditionally popular because of his status as an 'everyman,' this did not appeal to Scott's aristocratic nature. Scott never engaged with Wallace's story nearly as much as he did Bruce's.

There are a number of passages in *The Lord of the Isles* that may reflect Scott's wider views. There is a lot of time devoted to Bruce's killing of his rival to the throne, John Comyn, at a church at Dumfries. It seems that Scott was attempting to pardon Bruce's actions, 'No selfish vengeance dealt the blow, For Comyn died his country's foe.'[88] Bruce later confesses his sins to the Abbot, who is so moved by his words he forgives him, 'Avenger of thy country's shame, Restorer of her injured fame, Bless'd in thy sceptre and thy sword, De Bruce, fair Scotland's rightful Lord.'[89] This theme of Bruce atoning for his sins returns many times throughout the poem. For example, when Bruce tells Ronald to

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[85] W. Scott, (1815) *The Lord of the Isles,* second ed. (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co).
[86] R. Crawford, (2014) *Bannockburns: Scottish independence and literary imagination, 1314-2014* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 101.
[87] J. Porter, (1848) *The Scottish Chiefs* (Philadelphia: WM.A. Leary).
[88] Scott*, Lord of the Isles*, 74.
[89] Scott*, Lord of the Isles*, 78

refrain from attacking the awaiting English, '"No! Not to save my life!" he said; "Enough of blood rests on my head."'[90] Scott's defence of Bruce's character may reflect how Bruce was viewed by the public during the early nineteenth century. At a number of places in the poem Scott went out of his way to show Bruce's good character, including a lengthy tale of Bruce showing empathy and care towards a mute child minstrel who travelled with them for a time.[91] Scott's focus on Bruce may also reveal his personal preference for him. Scott took some steps to ensure he received a cast of Bruce's skull, following the discovery of his bones at Dunfermline.[92]

Lord of the Isles was not a commercial nor a critical success, and Scott did not return to any events or characters from the Wars for more than a decade. Scott's second book that discussed the Wars, *Tales of a Grandfather,* is quite different from Scott's other works. It was written for children, though in the preface he stated that the general public would find useful information inside.[93] In a letter to his publisher, James Ballantyne, Scott explained the purpose of the book, 'I should wish for it to be a work written for children but which if a man look he should be induced to read.'[94] The book also covers a much more extensive time period, from the early kings of Alba to James VI. In the preface Scott revealed the impetus for the wider narrative, 'some attempt at a general view of Scottish History, with a selection of its more picturesque and prominent points.'[95] Scott undoubtedly saw the Wars of Independence as one of these points, as seven of the book's thirty chapters were devoted to the Wars or their immediate aftermath; the most of any subject. For comparison's sake, five were devoted to Mary Queen of Scots, two to the Battle of Flodden, and one to each of the James kings.

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[90] Scott*, Lord of the Isles*, 105
[91] Scott*, Lord of the Isles*, 151.
[92] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 14.
[93] W. Scott, (1831, 1856) *Tales of a Grandfather* (Berlin: AD MT Schlesinger), preface.
[94] 'Walter Scott to James Ballantyne,' 25 May 1827, in *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H.J.C. Grierson and D. Cook, third vol. (London: Constable), 218.
[95] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, preface.

Scott devoted one chapter to the rise and fall of Wallace, referring to him as the hero 'whose name is still so often mentioned in Scotland.'[96] In the same chapter, Scott made an intriguing observation about the nature of fourteenth-century Scots. After the Battle of Stirling Bridge, he told of how Wallace flayed the skin off Cressingham, the English Treasurer, and made saddle girths with it.[97] Scott suggested this was evidence of how the Scots 'must have been then a ferocious and barbarous people.'[98] This comment may help shed light on how Scots in the nineteenth century managed to justify their unionist-nationalism. They imagined that their forefathers were of a different type of person, so while they could celebrate them, they had moved beyond their 'barbarous' nature.

As in *Lord of the Isles*, there is evidence for Scott's preference for Bruce, and his ongoing attempts to justify Bruce's actions, in *Tales of a Grandfather*. Scott said Bruce was held accountable for the killing of Comyn for the rest of his life, 'the slaughter of Comyn was a cruel action; and the historian of Bruce, observes, that it was followed by the displeasure of Heaven, for no man ever went through more misfortunes than Robert Bruce.'[99] Scott also said that on Bruce's deathbed, 'he sorely repented all his misdeeds, and particularly that he had in his passion killed Comyn.'[100] Towards the end of the chapters focused on the Wars, Scott mentioned the importance of remembering this history, 'while the country of Scotland retains any recollection of its history, the memory of these brave warriors and faithful patriots ought to be remembered with honour and gratitude.'[101] Scott was certainly justifying the study of Wallace and Bruce, but perhaps he was also justifying Scottish historical study on the whole.

Three years later, Scott released the last novel published during his lifetime, *Castle Dangerous*.[102] It was set shortly after Wallace's death, but prior to Bruce's rise to power. The main character is an English knight who vows to

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[96] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 38.
[97] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 44.
[98] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 44.
[99] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 54-55.
[100] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 106.
[101] Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, 96.
[102] W. Scott, (1831, 2006) *Castle Dangerous*, ed. J.H. Alexander (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

defend Douglas Castle (Castle Dangerous) from the Scottish forces. This was not the first time Scott used an English protagonist to tell a Scottish story, as his main character in *Waverley* was an Englishman who eventually joined the Jacobite cause.[103] Perhaps after the success of *Waverley* Scott realised using an English protagonist to explain a Scottish historical period was an effective way to gain an audience on both sides of the border. Bruce did not figure as a character nearly so much as in the previous two books. Penman has suggested that *Castle Dangerous* was written because Scott's publisher had been asking for a book on the relationship between Bruce and Wallace for years, though the novel is much more about Bruce than Wallace.[104]

With the diverse themes and events of Scott's works, he was revered in a way no writer, with the possible exception of Robert Burns, had been before, nor has been since. Rigney has argued that Scott's real talent lay in telling historical stories in a way that prepared them for cultural appropriation, 'the way in which Scott foregrounds certain memories, while marginalising others, indicates that the role of novels is not just a matter of recalling, recording, and "stabilising" but also of selecting certain memories and preparing them for future cultural life as stories.'[105] Kidd also calls Scott a stabilising force, but in this case for a Scottish identity, 'Scott's major contribution to Scottish identity was one of national reconciliation – of Highlanders and Lowlanders, Covenanters and Jacobites- not of national assertion.'[106]

The other notable literary figure from this period was Jane Porter, author of the Wallace-based historical romance *The Scottish Chiefs*. Porter and Scott are not always discussed together, as her work was seen as a historical romance, emphasis on romance, whereas Scott was viewed as a historical novelist, emphasis on historical. They are, however, the two most popular novelists that wrote on the Wars of Independence in the nineteenth century, which is the reason they are the focus of this section.

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[103] W. Scott, (1814, 1927) *Waverley, or, 'tis sixty years since* (London: Macmillan).
[104] H. Grierson, ed., (1979) *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 4th vol, 23, 280, 11th vol, 9, quoted in Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 14-15.
[105] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 382-383.
[106] Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past,* 266-267.

The commercial popularity of *The Scottish Chiefs* was a key factor in the popularity of Wallace in the nineteenth century. This was Porter's second novel, following the successful *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, which was set during the occupation of Poland in the 1790s.[107] *The Scottish Chiefs* was an immediate success, and in the nineteenth century it was reprinted more than seventy-five times.[108] Porter was able to paint Wallace as a hero of Scotland, and yet also as a point on a path that led from the Wars of Independence to the Union.[109] One of the main ways Porter accomplished this was by portraying the possibly false story of Wallace's wife's murder as the source of his hatred towards the English, rather than a strong desire for Scottish freedom.[110]

As the two central writers of historical fiction of the Wars of Independence in the nineteenth century, how do Scott and Porter compare? Scott put the emphasis on the historical, while Porter on the story. Even at the time of its publication *Chiefs* was seen as inaccurate and excessively romantic.[111] They were also focused on different figures and events, particularly Bruce versus Wallace. Their relationship, however, was essential to their success. The popularity of Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* likely inspired Scott's study of Bruce in *Lord of the Isles.* Porter also compared herself to Scott at every opportunity, in order to bolster her reputation and authority.[112] Intriguingly, it is said that Scott was disappointed in Porter's portrayal of Wallace.[113] If this is the case, it seems somewhat odd that Scott focused so much of his work on Bruce, rather than on changing the public opinion of Wallace.

Scott and Porter's novels helped popularise the stories of Bruce and Wallace, both historical and apocryphal. Many of the stories we still tell, such as Bruce's spider or the idea that the impetus for Wallace's rebellion was the murder of his wife, were popularised in these books. Rigney has shown this is

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[107] J. Porter, (1816) *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown).
[108] Crawford, *Bannockburns*, 108.
[109] Morton, *National Tale*, 27.
[110] Morton, 'Social Memory,' 316.
[111] D. McMillan, (2004) 'Porter, Jane,' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/22571.
[112] Morton, *National Tale*, 96.
[113] McMillan, 'Porter, Jane,' *ODNB*.

the power of historical novels, that they are a means of 'selecting certain memories and preparing them for future cultural life as stories.'[114] Scott and Porter helped take these 'memories' from the past and turn them into stories.

Poetry and Scores

The next category of texts that will be discussed are those that are generally meant to be performed, including plays, songs, and poetry. Despite the performative nature of these, they are included in the text section of this thesis because the written versions are what will be analysed. Some of the following examples come from chapbooks, which will be discussed further below, whereas others were published in larger anthologies or alongside other printed texts. The following is necessarily a representative sample of some of the text versions of the performative elements of commemoration, which are presented in order to consider their influence alongside other types of texts, rather than an exhaustive list. This would be a useful further course of study.

Looking first at poetry, by far the most well-known poem about the Wars of Independence is Robert Burns' 'Bruce's Address at Bannockburn,' now popularly known as 'Scots Wha Hae,' composed in 1793.[115] The popularisation of an alternative title for the poem is particularly significant as the 'Scots Wha Hae' title references the line of the poem that says, 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled.' This is in contrast to Burns' title, which was focused on Bruce. Therefore, this popular change is a clear preference for a title that references Wallace, rather than Bruce, again likely displaying a public preference for Wallace.[116]

'Scots Wha Hae' appears in many different forms, including as a song. It was printed as a sole publication, as part of anthologies, and in magazines and periodicals. Generally, there is not a lot of changes in the wording of the poem

[114] Rigney, 'Portable Monuments,' 382-3
[115] R. Burns, (2012) 'Scots wha hae,' in *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. D. Birch and K. Hooper, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199608218.001.0001/acref-9780199608218-e-6783.
[116] Smith, 'Textual Afterlives,' 53.

between different publications, but in Harvey's 1903 book on chapbooks he suggested that in order to fit within the standard format for length of chapbooks, the poem was occasionally 'spun out to four verses more than its normal length.'[117] Burns also wrote two other poems about Bruce in the same year as 'Scots Wha Hae,' both of which were called *The Ghost of Bruce*.[118] Though they are named for Bruce, they both quote from William Hamilton's edition of *Wallace*.[119] It is intriguing that Burns seemed to be more focused on Bruce than Wallace, which was particularly rare in the period in which he was writing. His preference for Bruce is further reinforced by the fact Burns had himself 'pseudo-knighted' at Bannockburn, while wearing a helmet that apparently belonged to Bruce.[120]

Turning to the next poem, both Wallace and Bruce were central characters in Mrs. Heman's 'Wallace's Invocation to Bruce,' printed in 1819 in Edinburgh.[121] This is the only female author aside from Porter that appears in this thesis. The poem was the winner of a contest that was held to raise support and funds for 'a suitable National Monument to the Memory of Wallace.'[122] This is the earliest example I have found of the suggestion for a national monument to Wallace, at a time when the only monuments to Wallace in existence were Buchan's stone and statue. The introduction to the poem said that Heman was from Edinburgh, though she lived in London, and it is noted that

> it is a noble feature in the character of a generous and enlightened people, that, in England, the memory of the patriots and martyrs of Scotland has long excited an interest not exceeded in strength by that which prevails in the country which boasts their birth, their deeds, and their sufferings.[123]

In other words, this passage is suggesting it shows the good character of the English people that they were as interested in the past as Scottish people. In the

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[117] Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook*, 117.
[118] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 11.
[119] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 27.
[120] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 11-12.
[121] Mrs. Heman, (1819) *Wallace's Invocation to Bruce: a Poem* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood).
[122] Hemans, *Wallace's Invocation*.
[123] Hemans, *Wallace's Invocation*.

poem, as is common, Bruce's inspiration for rising against the English is Wallace, though in this case he was galvanised by Wallace's execution.[124]

The remainder of the poems are dedicated to either Wallace or Bruce. Looking first at Bruce, there was a chapbook entitled *The Battle of Bannockburn; an old heroic ballad*.[125] The term 'ballad' could refer to either a poem or a song, but because this chapbook gives no mention of music, it was likely a poem. The short introduction to this text illustrates a relative lack of historical knowledge – the date given for the battle is one day after it actually occurred, and it claimed that Bruce led an army of 30,000 against Edward II's 300,000, which is vastly larger than any estimates suggest.[126] There was also a short poem called 'The Vision of Bruce about Bannockburn' included as part of a wider anthology of poems, called *Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellerslie,* printed in Glasgow in 1804.[127] The anthology has largely focused on Wallace, but did contain this short poem about Bruce foreseeing his victory at Bannockburn.

The final example of a poem about Bruce is John Mayne's 'The Siller Gun,' from 1836. The title refers to an 'ancient custom in Dumfries, called *Shooting for the Siller Gun,'* which were contests that determined the best marksman in the area.[128] A poem was produced to celebrate the contest in 1777, of which this was an updated version. Bruce was mentioned several times in the poem, which also referenced other events in Scottish history. The first mention was when Mayne referred to Bruce's March to Bannockburn.[129] In the notes to this section, the author revealed that,

> *Hey, tuttie taitie!* was played…marching to Bannockburn; and…was afterwards remembered by the name of "King Robert-the-Bruce's march." It is the oldest air now known…and has received further celebrity in our own days…being the melody to which…*Scots wha ha'e wi' Wallace bled!* are adapted.[130]

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[124] Hemans, *Wallace's Invocation*, 22.
[125] *The Battle of Bannockburn; an old heroic ballad* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Booksellers).
[126] *The Battle of Bannockburn; an old heroic ballad,* Edinburgh.
[127] J. Finlay, (1804) *Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellerslie. With other poems*, second ed. (Glasgow: R. Chapman).
[128] J. Mayne, (1836) *The Siller Gun* (London: Thomas Cadell), v-vi.
[129] Mayne, *Siller Gun*, 32.
[130] Mayne, *Siller Gun*, 195.

The author is suggesting that 'Scots Wha Hae' was sung to a tune that was played during the march to Bannockburn. Though it is difficult to assess the accuracy of this.

There were also several poems published that were specifically about Wallace, including in the aforementioned anthology *Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellersie*. The titular poem formed the majority of the publication. The author, John Finlay, wrote in the preface how powerful the memory of Wallace could be, saying he inspired many generations to fight for Scotland, 'many a poor fellow who has bled for his country in her wars, was induced to enter the ranks…from the desire he felt of signalising his courage, as his ancestors had done under Wallace.'[131] This was the second edition of this anthology, and Finlay made a point to justify concerns that had been raised about the resemblance between his poem and Hary's *Wallace*. The author defended himself by saying it 'was not till [*sic*] Wallace was written, and the coincidence pointed out to me, that I was conscious of its existence. The truth is, that the resemblance of the two Poems, could not but arise from their very object.'[132] Though there was a lot of 'borrowing' of material in this period, particularly in regard to the contents of chapbooks, this illustrates that plagiarism was still a concern.

In *The Shade of Wallace*, printed in Glasgow in 1807, a direct comparison is drawn between Wallace and contemporary events.[133] The poem was written in the first person, as if Wallace were writing it, though it covers much of Scottish history. The lessons for the present came early in the poem, when it was suggested that though Britain was currently in a time of prosperity and peace, that could change,

> Though trade and commerce at this hour,
> Plenty upon Brittania shower,
> If despots shall the land devour,
> They will decay.[134]

[131] Finlay, *Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellerslie*, xi.
[132] Finlay, *Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellerslie*, xic-xv.
[133] (1807) *The Shade of Wallace: A Poem* (Glasgow: D. Mackenzie).
[134] *The Shade of Wallace*, Glasgow, 4.

The poem also indicated that Bruce's actions were inspired by Wallace, saying that when Wallace died he prayed for Bruce to continue what he began, 'When by the Southerons I met death…I pray'd with my expiring breath…That valiant Bruce the helm should rule.'[135]

The next example is a collection of poems that appear to have been inspired by Buchan's commemorations of Wallace. The chapbook, entitled *A new collection of poems, on various subjects*, was authored by James Barrie of Bemersyde, where Buchan's statue of Wallace is located.[136] It included poems such as 'Wallace's Birth Day,' 'Lord Buchan's Birth Day,' 'By a Visitor at Wallace's Statue,' and 'To the Memory of Sir William Wallace.'[137] It also included a list of annual visitors to the Dryburgh Wallace statue from 1816 to 1823, a photo of the statue, and an account of the opening of the monument.[138] Barrie also included a poem written for the visitors book, which described Buchan's intentions in building the statue,

> Lord Buchan made this pleasure ground
> For Friends, and for himself,
> And for the love of Wallace great,
> But not for love of wealth;
> And as the owner of this land,
> A small request seeks he,
> That visitors set down their name
> Who Wallace come to see.[139]

Though they take different forms, this group of poems dedicated to Wallace and Bruce have much in common with one another. They all glorify the deeds of these men, and many are focused on how Wallace inspired Bruce. Several of them also draw a direct comparison between the time of the Wars of Independence and the present, suggesting that the public could take example from the heroic deeds of Wallace and Bruce.

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[135] *The Shade of* Wallace, Glasgow, 11.
[136] J. Barrie, (1824) *A new collection of poems, on various subjects, by James Barrie, Bemersyde* (Kelso: Alex Leadbetter.
[137] Barrie, *A new collection of poems*.
[138] Barrie, *A new collection of poems*.
[139] Barrie, *A new collection of poems*, 75-77.

Turning now to song books produced in this period, 'Scots Wha Hae' is by far the dominant song that is dedicated to the Wars of Independence. It appeared under different titles in a wide variety of books, such as 'Bruce's Address' in anthologies from 1817 and 1861, and as 'Scots Wha Hae' in 1819 and a chapbook published between 1801 and 1865.[140] *The Wallace Song Book* is a particularly fruitful source of songs about the Wars of Independence. Part of 'Auld Scotland,' words by W.H. Bellamy and composed by J.W. Hobbs, goes,

> Go, count the foes that fell before thy sons at Waterloo.
> Oh! Land of Bruce and Wallace, of mountain and of glen.[141]

This is further evidence of Bruce and Wallace being used to bolster support for contemporary conflicts. It is also an example of Scotland as a whole being referred to only by its association with Wallace and Bruce. In the same volume, there was a song called 'Wallace's Lament,' words by Tannahill, to the air of 'The Maids o'Arrochar', which is sang in the first person as Wallace.[142] It featured Wallace after his capture, questioning what will happen to Scotland now that he will never see it again. Also in this book was 'Here's a Health, Bonny Scotland,' which gave a toast to 'the land of victorious Bruce.'[143] This edition also featured a number of songs about Culloden and the Jacobite uprising, so the theme of the military history of Scotland is evident throughout the volume.

Turning finally to plays, which are the last of the performative types of text. The first example takes the form of a poem, but it is clearly meant to be performed as there are multiple voices called for. The bulk of the Neil Macleod's *Wallace: A Poem* was told in the first person, but there were also sections dedicated to 'voices,' who took the form of a chorus, and 'a voice,' when an angel came to speak to Wallace.[144] The second example, by David Anderson, was more

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[140] (1817) *The Mill, Mill, O, Bruce's Address, My only joe and dearie, Cauld kail in Aberdeen, and, the Broom of Cowdenknows* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Booksellers); (1861) *The Wallace Song Book: a selection of the most popular songs of the day* (London: printed for the booksellers); J. Braham, (1819-1824) *Scots wha hae wi Wallace bled: the celebrated Scottish air* (London: John Whitaker & Co); *The Wallace Songster: A selection of the most popular songs sung at the concerts, theatres, &c.* (London: published for the booksellers).
[141] *The Wallace Song Book*, London, 4.
[142] *The Wallace Song Book*, London, 8-9.
[143] *The Wallace Song Book*, London, 13.
[144] N. Macleod, (1896) *Wallace: A Poem* (London: Alexander Gardner).

explicitly a play, entitled *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace; An historical play in Five acts*.[145] The preface indicated that this was 'written in an old smoky smithy in the country, by an illiterate mechanic.'[146] It is suggested that knowing this would help 'those on this side of the Tweed from handling him too harshly.'[147] It is also revealed that he 'has not subjected himself to the ordinary size of a modern Five Act Play,' but rather included 'every achievement of his illustrious hero worth recording, with the intention of…leaving it to the players to compress.'[148] There is no indication whether this was ever performed, though it would be a significant undertaking with forty-six named characters, plus 'Lords, Gentlemen, Officers, Couriers, Soldiers, Servants, Citizens, &c. &c.'[149]

These examples of poetry, songs, and plays dedicated to the Wars of Independence in this period are yet another way the public may have learned about this history. Though these are the printed versions, presumably some of these examples were indeed performed. In terms of what was included, these types of commemoration follow a lot of the same trends that have been seen with other texts. Wallace and Bruce are almost exclusively the focus, Bruce is generally portrayed as being inspired by Wallace, and there is a suggestion that the lives of both of these men should be seen as inspiration for the contemporary public. Particularly in the early nineteenth century, it is clear that Napoleon's conquests in Europe were causing unease about Britain's role in the conflict. Perhaps this helps to explain the number of chapbooks and anthologies focused on Wallace and Bruce as military heroes that were produced at this time.

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[145] D. Anderson, (1821) *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace; An historical play in Five acts* (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co).
[146] Anderson, *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace*.
[147] Anderson, *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace*.
[148] Anderson, *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace*.
[149] Anderson, *The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace*.

Chapbooks[150]

Chapbooks were small, unbound books that were widely available throughout Europe for much of the early modern period, though in Scotland they were particularly popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[151] Since they were portable and inexpensive to produce they could be distributed more widely at this time than books. They were sold by either booksellers or travelling salesmen called 'chapmen,' and they were often passed between people.[152] Since they were so readily available their appeal amongst the lower classes is often emphasised, though they were read by all levels of society.[153] They came in a wide variety of forms and subjects, from recipes and religious stories to romances and songbooks. Due to this diversity, it is difficult to classify chapbooks. For the purposes of this study, however, there are two types of chapbooks that will be relevant – narrative biographies of figures from the Wars of Independence, and printed songs and poems about people and events from the Wars. The former will be the focus of this section, while the latter will be covered in the next section, along with other printed poetry.

Until recently, chapbooks did not receive a lot of scholarly attention; the only book about them published in the twentieth century was William Harvey's *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, published in 1903.[154] However, in 2007 Edward Cowan and Michael Paterson published *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage 1750-1850*, and Kino Iwazumi's 1999 thesis from the University of Edinburgh use chapbooks as source to study the growing sense of Scottishness in the nineteenth century.[155] In addition, there are now projects to digitise

[150] Unless otherwise indicated, chapbooks with no given date are from between 1801 and 1865, according to the National Library of Scotland catalogue.
[151] A. Follett, '140 years of Introductions: A Cautiously Optimistic Historiography of the Scottish Chapbook,' Scottish Chapbooks, University of Guelph, accessed 4 January 2018, https://scottishchapbooks.lib.uoguelph.ca/historiography-afollett.
[152] E.J. Cowan and M. Paterson, (2007) *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage 1750-1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald), 16.
[153] T. Mole, ed., 'Street Print: A Brief History of English Chapbooks,' McGill University, accessed 11 January 2018, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/chapbooks/nodes.php?p=001.
[154] W. Harvey, (1903) *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner).
[155] Cowan and Paterson, *Folk in Print*; K. Iwazumi, (1999) 'Popular Perceptions of Scottishness, 1780-1850,' PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh).

chapbooks and publish on their potential as a historical source at the University of Glasgow, University of Guelph, and the University of South Carolina.[156] In their book, Cowan and Paterson suggest a contributing factor to the lack of research in the twentieth century is that chapbooks can only be meaningfully studied qualitatively.[157] The printing of chapbooks on what is essentially folded broadsheets made them inexpensive, but it also made them easily damaged or destroyed. In addition, there were many publishers who produced chapbooks across Scotland (and Europe), and it was in no way confined to major cities.[158] It is therefore impossible to know how many chapbooks were produced in Scotland during this period, where they came from, and what content they contained. In addition, the authors and dates of publication of chapbooks were very rarely given, and 'the chapbook printer did not greatly concern himself with questions of literary ownership. He was, in this way, as great a thief and pirate as the men whose exploits he sometimes recounted.'[159]

Despite the concerns of Cowan and Paterson, in order to get a sense of the surviving chapbooks that discuss the Wars of Independence, I completed a small quantitative study by consulting chapbook collections held at the National Library of Scotland, and digitised examples from the University of Guelph. I found thirty-one chapbooks associated with the Wars from the nineteenth century, four of which were songbooks and another four of poetry, both of which will be discussed in the following section.[160] Remaining was a collection of twenty-five chapbooks that all focus on figures from the Wars. The subjects of these can be categorised as those only about Wallace (12), those only about Bruce (9), those about Bruce and Wallace (3), and there was also one chapbook about Douglas. Therefore, the focus is largely on Wallace and Bruce, with Wallace being slightly more popular than Bruce.

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[156] A full historiographical history of chapbooks can be found in Follett, '140 years of Introductions.'
[157] Cowan and Paterson, *Folk in Print*, 17.
[158] Cowan and Paterson, *Folk in Print*, 17.
[159] Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook*, 30.
[160] A list of these thirty-one chapbooks can be found in Appendix Two.

Looking to some of the individual examples, much of the traditional aspects of chapbooks can be seen. Tom Mole has suggested chapbooks often 'featured heavily abridged and unoriginal stories.'[161] In this case, the stories were largely based off Barbour's *The Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*. In *The Life and Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland. With the valiant exploits of King Robert Bruce*, it is noted in the introduction that these were abridged versions of Barbour and Hary's poems, though both were in prose, with all remnants of verse gone.[162]

Another claim that is often made is that chapbooks were largely produced for children, though some scholars have denied this.[163] Four of the twenty-five chapbook examples were written specifically for children. Two of these are from the same series, the *Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England*, which produced biographies of Wallace and Bruce.[164] These were illustrated in a more child-friendly manner than many of the other illustrated editions, but otherwise it would be difficult to differentiate whether these were for children if the chapbooks did not reveal that they were. These specific chapbooks were seemingly a success, because a second edition was printed.[165]

Multiple editions of chapbooks were fairly common, as was the practice of different publishers producing nearly identical chapbooks. This theft or lending of the stories was another common feature of chapbooks. For example, in Newcastle there were three slightly different versions of the same chapbook all produced by different printers. The titles reveal the subtle differences between them: '*The Life and Surprsng* [*sic*] *Adventures of that Renowned Hero, Sir William Wallace*,' '*The History and Surprising Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, The Hero of Scotland*,' and '*The Life and Surprising Adventures of Sir William*

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[161] Mole, 'Street Print.'
[162] *The Life and Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland. With the valiant exploits of King Robert Bruce* (Greenock: W. Scott).
[163] Mole, 'Street Print.'
[164] *Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: William Wallace* (London: Webb, Millington and Compy); *Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: Robert Bruce* (London: Webb, Millington and Compy).
[165] *Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: William Wallace*.

Wallace.'[166] In another example, the children's chapbook on Wallace that was already mentioned was printed in London by Webb, Millington and Compy, and it had the same introduction as *Sir William Wallace*, printed in Glasgow by John Davidson.[167] In addition, *History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*, printed in Glasgow, is nearly identical to a text by the same name that was printed in Belfast.[168]

Nearly all of the chapbooks are essentially biographies of either Wallace or Bruce, through which the wider story of the Wars of Independence is told. There was a lot of emphasis placed on the character of these men. Bruce's loyalties, especially prior to 1306, were often questioned, and he was generally portrayed as being inspired to join the Scottish side through various experiences. For example, following a battle between Scottish and English forces when Bruce fought for the English side, a chapbook described Bruce as having the following experience,

> He sat down to dinner without washing his hands, on which there were two spots of blood. "Look at that Scotchman," said an Englishman; "he is eating his own blood!" Mortified by this observation, he rose from table, and, going into a neighbouring chapel, implored God for his great crime; and made a solid vow, that he would do all in his power to deliver his country from the oppressor.[169]

In the majority of these stories the person responsible for Bruce's change in allegiance is Wallace. This often takes the form of a meeting along the Carron river following the Battle of Falkirk when Bruce, according to several of the chapbooks, fought on the English side. Wallace attacked Bruce, though he missed and killed Bruce's horse instead. However,

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[166] *The Life and Surprsng* [*sic*] *Adventures of that Renowned Hero, Sir William Wallace* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: John Ross); *The History and Surprising Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, The Hero of Scotland* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: W.R. Walker); *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Sir William Wallace* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: John Gilbert).
[167] *Sir William Wallace* (Glasgow: John Davidson)
[168] *History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Glasgow: printed for the booksellers); *History of the Life and Death of the Great Warrior, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Belfast, A. Mayne).
[169] *The History of King Robert the Bruce. Embellished with neat Wood Cuts* (Montrose: James Watt), 5-6.

> Wallace was recognised by the misguided Bruce, who descried him from the opposite bank, and, with the view perhaps of justifying his own dastardly conduct, charged Wallace with ambitious motives. "No," said the noble Wallace, "I only mean to deliver my country from oppression and slavery. If you have but the heart, you may yet win a crown with glory, and wear it with justice. I can do neither." Bruce was much struck with what Wallace said, and secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of joining his oppressed countrymen.[170]

This sense that Wallace inspired Bruce has been seen in many of the commemorative acts thus far, and it seems likely that these chapbooks helped reinforce this notion with the public.

Not all chapbooks, however, were critical of Bruce. Both men were largely portrayed as heroes throughout the chapbooks. In 1903 Harvey wrote of 'the craze of modern historical writers to alter the conventional colours of certain portraits' so that 'Wallace is not in these badly-printed pages the beer-stealing thief of Sir Herbert Maxwell, and there is no suggestion that in digging the pits at Bannockburn Bruce was treacherous rather than strategical.'[171] Intriguingly, some of the chapbooks also encouraged readers to use these figures from the past as inspiration for dealing with contemporary events. In the introduction to *The Life of Sir William Wallace, The Scots Patriot*, published in Edinburgh in 1808, it was suggested that should Napoleon ever invade Britain, 'may the flame which animated Wallace's bosom burn in every British heart.'[172]

It is also interesting to note what aspects of Wallace and Bruce's lives were included in the chapbooks. The full biography of Wallace was generally given, but descriptions of Bruce's life largely ended with the Battle of Bannockburn, a full fifteen years before his death, and fourteen years before the end of the First War of Independence. The entirety of this time would often be summarised in one sentence such as,

> The Scots afterwards maintained there [*sic*] independence, and remained comparatively at peace, and King Robert Bruce resolved that at the head of an army to undertake an expedition

[170] *Sir William Wallace*, Glasgow , 11.
[171] Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook*, 86.
[172] (1808) *The Life of Sir William Wallace, The Scots Patriot* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd), 6.

> to the Holy Land, to make religious atonement, but was taken ill and died in the year 1329, at the age of 55.[173]

Some chapbooks did include an account of James Douglas taking Bruce's heart on Crusade, particularly in the chapbook dedicated to Douglas, where it said he 'wept as he accepted this precious charge – the last token of his king's confidence and friendship.'[174] There were also several mentions of Bruce's heart being buried in Melrose Abbey, including in *The History of King Robert the Bruce*, published in Montrose.[175] As discussed in the last chapter, what was thought to be Bruce's heart was discovered at Melrose Abbey in 1921, so the fact that these chapbooks mention it nearly a century before shows this had long been the popular story.

Overall, chapbooks offer a rare look at an act of commemoration that may have been accessible by most classes. Mole, however, does caution against assuming that because the lower classes had access to chapbooks it represents their views, saying that the late-eighteenth century brought about more middle-class printers, so chapbooks went from 'being produced by the lower classes to being produced for the lower classes.'[176] That being said, since chapbooks were created to appeal to a wide audience, patterns in the types of material covered may reveal some of the interests of the lower classes. It seems they were very similar to those of the upper classes who were paying for other types of commemoration – a sense that the Wars ended following Bannockburn, and an emphasis on the impact of Wallace on Bruce.

Illustrations

This final type of text acts as a bridge with the next section of this chapter, which is about paintings. Illustrations are found in texts, which is why

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[173] (1840-1850) *History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Glasgow: printed by the booksellers), 24.
[174] (1840-1850) *The History of the Black Douglas, with an Account of the Battle of Otterburn* (Glasgow: Francis Orr and Sons), 31.
[175] *The History of King Robert the* Bruce, Montrose.
[176] Mole, *Street Print*.

they are included in the text section, but they are also art, so they are related to paintings. Sandro Jung has shown how illustrations in Scotland could be found in a variety of texts by the 1780s, including novels, anthologies, almanacs, and diaries.[177] Jung suggests there were three different types of illustrated texts in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.[178] The first were vignettes or portraits of the author that appeared on or near the front page. The second were full-page illustrations that showed key moments in the accompanying text. The third type were high-end illustrations that were often part of subscription campaigns and were occasionally sold separately as decorations.[179] This section will consider all of the categories of texts outlined previously in this section, in order to determine which types of texts had illustrations, which of Jung's categories they were, and what they depicted from the Wars of Independence.

By far the most common type of illustration is the first of Jung's categories, the title-page vignettes. Jung suggests these were increasingly common in Scotland from the beginning of the nineteenth century.[180] Editions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace* largely do not include illustrations of any kind, although Jamieson's 1820 edition of both poems featured title-page vignettes. These were designed 'to attract an antiquarian readership.'[181] This suggests illustrations made texts more attractive to antiquaries, likely because they added to their collectability. The other role of illustrations was to appeal to a child audience, but that seems unlikely given the original text for the poems being used. The cover for Jamieson's edition of *The Bruce* has an illustration of various weapons and coats of arms, while *Wallace* features a 'fallen warrior, in re-created Highland dress, with his broadsword and targe prominently in view.'[182] The depiction of the figure in Highland dress, presumably Wallace himself, also helps reiterate a connection between these medieval warriors and the modern

[177] S. Jung, (2017) *The Publishing and Marketing of Illustrated Literature in Scotland, 1760–1825* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press), 32.
[178] Jung, *Illustrated Literature in Scotland*, 62.
[179] Jung, *Illustrated Literature in Scotland*, 62.
[180] Jung, *Illustrated Literature in Scotland*, 62.
[181] Smith, 'Textual Afterlives,' 50.
[182] Smith, 'Textual Afterlives,' 50.

Highland solider, as does the display of weapons and heraldry associated with Bruce.

There are also very few illustrations in the club books, where the only notable inclusion of images in books associated with the Wars of Independence is Henry Laing's *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals*, published by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. This book features images of the seals it discusses, including 'twenty-four Copperplates, and five plates from Stone, with three Woodcuts; besides numerous Woodcuts interspersed through the text.'[183] The purpose of these images was to give further information on the seals Laing was describing, rather than to help illustrate a story or draw attention to a particularly important part of a tale.

There are a few examples of illustrated versions of Scott's *Lord of the Isles*. In the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, there is mention of an edition of *Lord of the Isles* 'illustrated by Engraving from Westall's designs, Portrait of the Author engraved by Heath from Sazon's picture, and a Drawing of a Lord of the Isles from a picture by Zuccaro, 1575.'[184] Illustrations were also present in another edition of the same book, this time in an edition specifically for children – abridged versions, retold in prose, of *The Lady of the Lake* and the *Lord of the Isles* were published as part of the 'Books for the Bairns' series.[185] This book included a drawing on the left side of each page, with the text on the right. They are mostly original drawings that illustrated the action in the text, but there are also some, such as a close-up of Bruce, that were 'drawn from an old print.'[186]

The most common type of texts to be illustrated were chapbooks. This is initially surprising, as their success was based on the fact they could be produced cheaply, and illustrations added an additional cost to the printing process. However, the inclusion of illustrations in chapbooks accomplished a number of tasks. They were most often used as ornamentation on the front covers. Of the thirty-one chapbooks consulted for this study, only three did not

[183] Letter from Thomas Thomson, P. Chalmers, C. Innes, J.T. Gibson Craig, W.B.D.D. Turnbull, 12 July 1850 in Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals*
[184] W. Scott, (1838) *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford* (Edinburgh: T.Constable).
[185] *The Lady of the Lake and the Lord of the Isles* (London: Books for the Bairns Office).
[186] *The Lady of the Lake and the Lord of the Isles*, London.

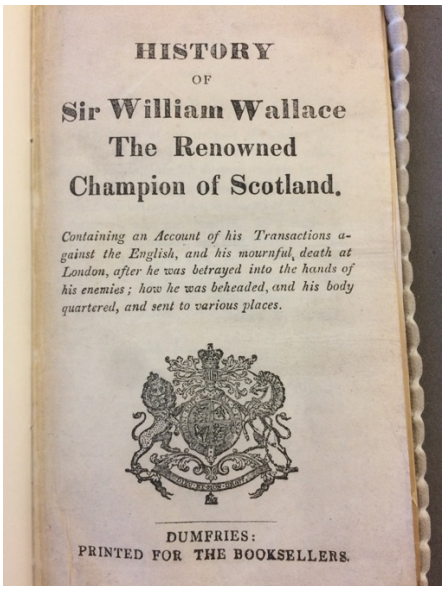
have an illustration of some description on the cover, which indicates that this practice was common across all types of chapbooks. They were also used to help supplement the length of the chapbooks, if the text did not properly fit the format.[187] Chapbooks were occasionally bought purely for the illustrations, which were then removed and used as decorations.[188] They were largely created using woodcuts, which were made by carving a design into the end of a piece of soft wood.[189] This style was popular because it could be put into the printing press beside the type, which was not the case with more sophisticated engraving methods like copper plates.[190] Though the images produced could not be overly detailed, woodcuts were cheap and practical, so they were widely used until the introduction of steel plates in the nineteenth century.[191]

The actual subject of the woodcut was not always of great concern to the printers. As Cowan and Paterson have suggested, they 'made only an indirect allusion (if any at all) to the content.'[192] Images were often reused for a number of texts, which led to instances such as one Harvey recounts, when the cover image on a Glasgow edition of *A History of Wallace, the renowned Scottish Champion* – which features a man on the cover wearing a crown – was actually an illustration of Henry II of England.[193]

As mentioned above, only three of the thirty chapbooks consulted do not contain illustrations, which shows the prevalence of them. Half of the chapbooks have just the one illustration on their cover, while the other half are illustrated throughout. There does not appear to be any clear reasoning behind this. Most of the chapbooks specifically created for children are illustrated, but as are many of the examples that were more clearly marketed for adults. It likely depended on what access the printers had to a variety of woodcuts that could illustrate the scenes depicted in the story. For example, a chapbook entitled *History of Sir William Wallace, The Renowned Champion of Scotland* features only

[187] Mole, *Street Print*.
[188] A. Stott, (2003) *Hannah More: the First Victorian* (New York: Oxford University Press), 171.
[189] Mole, *Street Print*.
[190] Mole, *Street Print*.
[191] Mole, *Street Print*.
[192] Cowan and Paterson, *Folk in Print*, 13.
[193] Harvey, *Scottish Chapbook*, 28.

a fairly generic Scottish seal on the cover, suggesting that the printer in Dumfries did not have any images more appropriate to illustrate the book [Figure 5.1]. It was likely easier for the larger printers in Edinburgh and Glasgow to keep a wider variety of woodcuts, as well as to share them between printers.


HISTORY
OF
Sir William Wallace
The Renowned
Champion of Scotland.

Containing an Account of his Transactions against the English, and his mournful death at London, after he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies; how he was beheaded, and his body quartered, and sent to various places.

DUMFRIES:
PRINTED FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

Figure 5.1: Cover, *History of Sir William Wallace, The Renowned Champion of Scotland*

Of the illustrations included in the chapbooks, there are a number of particularly noteworthy examples. The cover images often feature vignettes of Wallace or Bruce, but there are exceptions. *The History of King Robert the Bruce* by James Watt, published in Montrose, featured an image of the 'regalia of Scotland,' which did not exist in Bruce's time [Figure 5.2]. Instead, this is clearly based on interest in the recent discovery of the regalia by Walter Scott in 1818.[194] There was also occasionally action occurring in the illustrations, such as in *History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*, printed in Glasgow, where Bruce is shown attacked de Bohun with his axe on the cover [Figure 5.3], though this image could also depict any medieval or early modern warriors, so it seems likely it was used for multiple chapbooks.[195] As mentioned previously, there is a nearly identical version of

[194] *The History of King Robert the Bruce*, Montrose.
[195] 'History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland,' Glasgow: printed for the booksellers.

this chapbook that was printed in Belfast, but that features a different illustration, of a helmet, sword, and shield with the union flag drawn on it.[196] It is possible this was simply the only illustration available to the printers, but it may also suggest that different markets were looking for different illustrations.

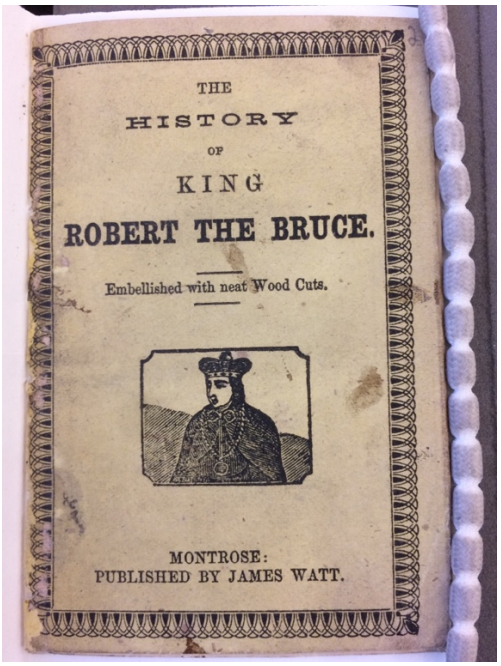

THE
HISTORY
OF
KING
ROBERT THE BRUCE.
Embellished with neat Wood Cuts.
MONTROSE:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES WATT.

Figure 5.2: Cover, *The History of King Robert the Bruce*

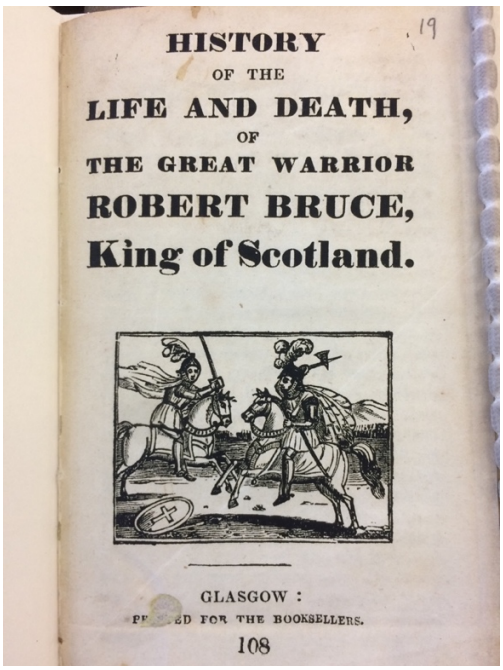

HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND DEATH,
OF
THE GREAT WARRIOR
ROBERT BRUCE,
King of Scotland.
GLASGOW :
108

Figure 5.3: Cover, *History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*

[196] *History of the Life and Death of the Great Warrior*, Belfast.

Towards the end of this period, the illustrations became larger and more detailed, reflecting a move towards Jung's second category, which referred to full-page illustrations featured throughout the text. A Glasgow publisher produced biographies for both Wallace and Bruce that show this new style.[197] The cover of the chapbook on Wallace shows him in battle, brandishing his sword [Figure 5.4]. There are several prone figures on the ground around him, as well as a battle occurring in the background. In the chapbook about Bruce from the same series, Bruce is again shown attacking de Bohun [Figure 5.5].[198] He is brandishing his axe, and there is a horse on the ground between them. These images also have labels as part of the illustration, which suggests they were created for the chapbook, rather than a generic image being used as that is what the publisher had available.

Figure 5.4: Cover, *Sir William Wallace*

[197] *Sir William Wallace*, Glasgow.
[198] *King Robert the Bruce* (Glasgow: John Davidson).

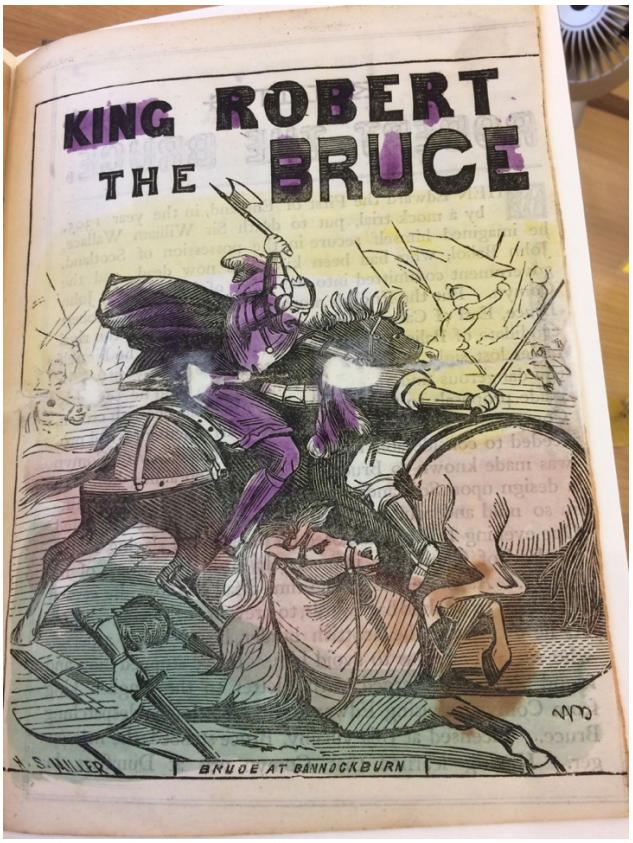


Figure 5.5: Cover, *King Robert the Bruce*

It is clear that for much of the texts associated with the Wars of Independence, illustrations were not a defining feature. The vast majority of club books, novels, and editions of Barbour and Hary did not feature illustrations, unless they were specifically marketed for children. The one exception to this is title-page vignettes, but even these were not a definite feature. In contrast, nearly all of the chapbooks from this period featured illustrations. Though the illustrations were not always of figures from the Wars of Independence, such as when Henry II stood in for Wallace, there is evidence of the growing role of illustrations as printing technology advanced.

Conclusion

This section has necessarily been a consideration of a selection of the texts available based on the Wars of Independence in this period, a full account of which would be a thesis until itself. The point was to give an overview of some of the ways in which the public would have encountered information

about the Wars of Independence through a variety of different types of texts. While not always considered commemorative, texts represent one of the key ways in which people would have learned about the Wars, whether through a work of historical fiction, or a poem, or as an antiquarian reading a club book. This background information was required for then understanding many of the commemorative acts discussed in Chapter Three, which relied on a certain level of knowledge from the public to understand the iconography. All of the commemorations in this thesis work together to create the commemorative culture surrounding the Wars in this period.

A number of interesting trends are revealed when considering the texts as a whole. In terms of the individual characters of Wallace and Bruce, the examples listed in this section suggest that Wallace was more popular than Bruce, particularly amongst the lower classes. Bruce received slightly more attention amongst antiquaries, particularly Scott but also in Innes's edition of *The Bruce*. This may suggest that their appeal in the nineteenth century in particular was class-based. Much like in the fourteenth century, Bruce was more popular with the aristocratic antiquarians, while Wallace more so with the middle and working classes. It is clear, however, that there was interest from publishers in printing texts about both men. Historian Agnes Mure Mackenzie, in the introduction to *Robert Bruce King of Scots* (1935), revealed that she began this work at the request of her publisher, 'I had, like most of my generation, been bred to the conventional view of Bruce, as a treacherous and rather contemptible figure who somehow, by a violent conversion, was changed into the strong and beloved leader of a national struggle.'[199] In many of the different types of texts, particularly the chapbooks, Bruce was often depicted as being inspired by Wallace. Penman has suggested this is because his image was increasingly problematic in the nineteenth century, with the 'growth of class consciousness and call for electoral reform.'[200]

[199] A.M. Mackenzie, (1934) *Robert Bruce King of Scots* (London: A. Maclehose & Co), quoted in Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 17.
[200] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 15.

As necessary as it is to consider what was written about the Wars of Independence, it is also crucial to consider what was not. The Wars do not appear in any significant capacity in the publications of most of the clubs, nor by certain key antiquaries such as Sir William Fraser and Charles Fraser Macintosh. In what is written, there was a significant focus on Bruce, Wallace, Bannockburn, the succession crisis, and Edward I's treatment of the Scots, but there was very little on the Bruce invasion of Ireland, his time hiding from English soldiers or his coronation, and only a few references to the Declaration of Arbroath. Perhaps Colin Kidd was correct in his claim that Scottish history was perhaps not as popular in this period as we assume it was.[201] Therefore, it seems odd that there are several references in the primary documents from this period to the large amount of work that has been done on them. For example, in the preface to *The Brus,* Innes says, 'after all the research which has been made of late years, the case of Robert Bruce stands much as it was put by our most dispassionate and best historical authority.' [202] In reality, it really is only a handful of significant works, especially in comparison to the output of the antiquarian movement as a whole in Scotland. I would suggest this reference to the amount of knowledge available refers to the amount of consideration and commemoration being paid to the events and people of the Wars of Independence outside the world of texts, which further highlights the importance of looking at a variety of commemorative types.

Texts form a significant group of sources in terms of the ways the public may have encountered information about the Wars of Independence. There is, however, a lot of variance in the accessibility of the different types of texts. Club books were purposefully rare, and only available to club members. Similarly, editions of Barbour and Hary's poems required a certain level of language training in order to understand them, particularly the versions that were not modernised. The middle and lower classes would have accessed the Wars of Independence mainly through novels and chapbooks, both of which could be

[201] Kidd, '*Strange Death* Revisited,' 87.
[202] Innes, *The Brus*, ix.

easily passed between people and were created for a wide consumption. It is also very likely people of all levels of society heard about the tales of Wallace and Bruce through song, poems, and other performative examples. Several writers at the time have suggested they first learned these tales through such oral history, including Porter, Scott, Hugh Miller, Robert[203] Louis Stevenson, Andrew Carnegie and John Muir.

5.2: Paintings

Artistic influences on commemoration has already been explored in the previous section when considering illustrations, and in Chapter Three, when murals, stained glass, and monuments were studied – the immovable forms of artistic expression. This section will consider one final type of art, paintings. Many Scottish artists became interested in historical painting in the mid to late-nineteenth century, and they often looked to the Wars of Independence for inspiration. As with literature, there was a misconception that Scottish art in the nineteenth century was in some way inferior to other European nations, though many scholars have discredited this view in recent years.[204] It is true that many of the artists in the subsequent examples left Scotland for their training, but equally well there was growing respect for the Trustee's Academy and the Royal Scottish Academy. The latter was formed in 1826, in reaction to the 1819 creation of the Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland, whose aim was to present exhibitions, though they were criticised for excluding artists from their board.[205] The National Gallery of Scotland opened in 1859.[206] These institutions were essential in the promotion of art in Scotland in the nineteenth century.

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[203] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 14; Ash, 'William Wallace and Robert the Bruce.'
[204] See: C. Beveridge and R. Turnbull, (1997) *Scotland After Enlightenment: Image and Tradition in Modern Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon); D. MacMillan, (2000) *Scottish Art: 1460-2000*, second ed. (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing); Morrison, *Painting the Nation*; Normand, *The Modern Scot*.
[205] M. MacDonald, (2000) *Scottish Art* (London: Thames and Hudson), 90.
[206] MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 90.

In the UK in general, interest in art was growing in the nineteenth century. There was a realisation amongst the elite that art could be used to reinforce identity, and free or reduced-rate exhibitions became more common.[207] There was also a growing sense of 'national art,' and the idea that it should be held in galleries and museums. [208] Public art, such as murals or stained glass, was also gaining popularity, and therefore people were encountering art of different types. Literature is often pointed to as one of the key inspirations for nineteenth century art. John Morrison identified Scott as a key muse to Scottish art, 'after Shakespeare, in the nineteenth century, Scott's works were the most frequently utilised literary sources.'[209] Artists were not painting illustrations of these literary works, but rather using the stories within them as inspiration.

Scholars have also considered how art operated within the changing concept of Scottishness in the nineteenth century. Tom Normand has argued art and other forms of culture were seen as critical because they illustrated a distinct Scottish culture, though he places the largest importance on literature.[210] Morrison has argued similarly, saying, 'painting of the period, far from debasement and distortion, was deeply concerned with the expression of a vibrant national identity…that art had a role greater than mere decoration was commonly accepted.'[211] Morrison is careful to say, however, that it was rare for Scottish art to be distinctly nationalistic, 'certainly the movement sought to evoke a pre-British Scotland and to stress Scotland's individual identity, but its sentiments were not anti-English.'[212]

The middle of the nineteenth century in Scottish art is often characterised by Highlandism, 'by the 1860s the main elements of the tartan, heather and hills stereotype of modern Scotland were in place.'[213] This was a result of the popular image of the Highlands as an untouched natural haven,

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[207] Morrison, *Painting the Nation,* 5.
[208] McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors,' 267
[209] Morrison, *Painting the Nation,* 111
[210] Normand, *Modern Scot,* 1-2.
[211] Morrison, *Painting the Nation,* 14.
[212] Morrison, *Painting the Nation,* 186.
[213] MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 105.

which was portrayed in a variety of ways in popular culture. The epitome of Highlandism in art was Edwin Landseer's *The Monarch of the Glen*, from 1851. Landseer painted images of the Highlands from the 1820s to the 1860s, and this image was created at the height of his popularity.[214] It was commissioned to hang in the refreshment room of the House of Lords.[215] T.C. Smout has pointed out the inherent contradiction that in the same year the painting was completed, 'Sir John McNeil reported officially to Parliament on the condition of the crofting population after five years of famine, concluding that though the crofters were a people of many noble traits of character, most had no future in their own homeland.'[216] Several artists at the time were questioning this idealized view of the Highlands and began to depict images of the Clearances, which were also gaining more attention through tourism and journalism in the region.[217] Examples of this include Horatio McCulloch's *The Emigrant's Dram of His Highland Home* (1860) and Thomas Faed's *The Last of the Clan* (1865). Faed was also inspired by literary sources, and painted several scenes from Scott's novels, though none that relate to the Wars of Independence.[218] The popularity of Landseer's works, Queen Victoria's purchase of the Balmoral estate, and Scott's novels were all key features in the romantic reimagining of the Highlands during this period, in stark contrast to the reality of the vast social upheavals that were occurring.[219]

Morrison has argued that as the antithesis to contemporary Highlandism, many Scottish artists instead 'turned to the ancient history and mythology of the region.'[220] This is known as the 'indigenous revival.' Ultimately, this revival was rooted in much the same sentiments as commemorations of the Wars of

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[214] T.C. Smout, (2005) 'Landseer's Highlands,' in *The Monarch of the Glen: Landseer in the Highlands*, ed. R. Ormond (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland), 13.
[215] Smout, 'Landseer's Highlands,' 13.
[216] Smout, 'Landseer's Highlands,' 13.
[217] MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 105.
[218] J. Soden, (2004) 'Faed, Thomas,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9058.
[219] Smout, 'Landseer's Highlands,' 13.
[220] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 186.

Independence – there was an emphasis on showing Scotland's individuality, but it was not explicitly against the Union.[221] The art in this chapter, however, does not really fit within either group. Instead, it tends to follow another nineteenth-century trend in art, that of depicting 'national figures of heroic status.'[222] As will become clear, Wallace and Bruce were almost exclusively the subjects of these paintings.

The overall trend towards historically focused painting can be considered commemorative in nature, as certain people and events from the past are given new representation and focus. Therefore, even if it was not the artist's intention, these paintings now hold a place in the commemoration of the Wars. The following selection of paintings can be split into two groups, those depicting Wallace and those of Bruce. Amongst the following collection of case studies, there are also two distinct time periods when the paintings were created – the mid-nineteenth century and the second decade of the twentieth century. The fifty-year gap between these two periods could be the result of a number of influences. The popularity of Highlandism may have overshadowed the events of the Wars in terms of popularity. Politically, as calls for Home Rule and better representation of Scottish affairs became popular in the late-nineteenth century, perhaps representations of past conflicts were no longer seen as non-political. Art also follows trends, so it is possible it was no longer fashionable to portray the Wars after the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to considering why there was a decline in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to determine why paintings depicting figures from the Wars appeared again in the twentieth century. The outbreak of the First World War was likely the reason, as people looked to medieval military heroes to reconcile the horrors of this conflict.

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[221] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 186.
[222] MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 125.

The most prolific painter to depict the Wars of Independence was William Allan. He was born in Edinburgh, and he began his career painting coats-of-arms on carriages.[223] He studied at the Trustees' Academy, where he met and became lifelong friends with David Wilkie, an extremely influential historical painter in his own right, though he never used the Wars as a subject.[224] Allan was a favourite of Scott and painted his portrait several times. He was also asked by Scott to illustrate the *Waverley* novels, as were several other artists.[225] It was partially under Scott's, and his son-in-law author John Gibson Lockhart's, influence that Allan looked to Scottish historical subjects for inspiration.[226] Like Scott, Allan was a Tory, and a strong supporter of the Union. Morrison has suggested he is a classic unionist-nationalist artist, 'for Allan and his contemporaries, Scottish nationalism went hand in hand with British patriotism.'[227] He was one of the first artists who took an interest in painting Scottish history, and his works served as important inspiration for those that followed, though Morrison points out he was operating within a growing field, rather than being a true originator.[228]

Allan has three paintings that relate to the Wars of Independence, two of which will be discussed now. The first was *Heroism and Humanity* [Figure 5.6], from 1840, now held by Glasgow Museums. It is based on an incident outlined in Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.[229] This is a relatively early commemoration that is dedicated to Bruce, though this connection to Scott's work explains why Allan chose to depict Bruce at this point. The story comes from Bruce's campaigns against the English in Ireland. While in retreat from an enemy army, Bruce comes across a laundress who has just given birth. Instead of leaving her to be

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[223] J. Howard, (2004) 'Allan, Sir William,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/360?docPos=1.
[224] Howard, 'Allan,' *ODNB*.
[225] Howard, 'Allan,' *ODNB*.
[226] Howard, 'Allan,' *ODNB*.
[227] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 121.
[228] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 113.
[229] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 120.

found by the pursuing enemy, Bruce halts his army and prepares to fight. This story is told to illustrate Bruce's humanity and religious character. The figures of the laundress and the women with her on the right side of the painting are striking a religious stance, which Morrison has indicated is reminiscent of Michelangelo's *Florence Pieta*.[230] Medieval scholars have debated the level of Bruce's religious devotion.[231] On one hand, he shows a significant amount of personal devotion, and funded the Cathedral in St Andrews. However, this may have been because he was concerned about his time in purgatory, particularly following his killing of rival John Comyn in a church in Dumfries. Both Scott's story and Allan's painting were clearly trying to highlight Bruce's religiosity. This is particularly noteworthy not only given the upheavals following the Disruption in 1843 – just three years after this painting was made. Perhaps because of the differing national churches in Scotland and England, Murdo MacDonald has argued that religiously-focused paintings in this time helped to display a new Scottish identity.[232] Therefore, the reference to Bruce's religiosity in this painting is not celebrating his Catholicism, but rather his Scottish identity.

[230] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 121.
[231] R. Oram, (2009) 'Lay religiosity, piety, and devotion in Scotland, c.1300 to c.1400,' *Florilegium* 25; G.G. Simpson, (1999) 'The Heart of King Robert I: Pious Crusade or Marketing Gambit?' in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press); J. Schwend, (1986) 'Religion and Religiosity in *The Bruce*,' in *Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. D. Strauss and H.W. Drescher (Frankfurt: Verlag Peter Lang).
[232] MacDonald, *Scottish Art*, 97.

Figure 5.6: William Allan, *Heroism and Humanity,* 1840 (artUK)

By far the most famous of Allan's works relating to the Wars of Independence is his 1850 painting *The Battle of Bannockburn* [Figure 5.7], which remained unfinished at his death. The painting does not focus on any one part of the battle, but rather gives a sense of the whole field. Much like Hole's mural depicting Bannockburn in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the overwhelming sense in the painting is that of confusion and carnage. To the right of the painting, Bruce can be seen leading a cavalry charge. He is recognisable by the yellow and red on his chest plate, showing the lion rampant. Though he is not the focal point, Allan still intended that he be noticed within the scene. Both of these works by Allan focus on events from Bruce's life. Unlike the first painting, however, this one is not focused exclusively on Bruce. There is also not nearly the same amount of religious imagery, perhaps reflecting the Disruption that had occurred in the intervening period.

Figure 5.7: William Allan, *The Battle of Bannockburn,* 1850 (artUK)

The next example dates from between Allan's paintings. John Phillip's 1843 painting *Robert the Bruce on the Eve of Bannockburn Receiving the Sacrament from the Abbot of Inchaffre* [Figure 5.8] currently resides in the Brechin Town Hall. Phillip was born in Aberdeen in 1817.[233] He is not remembered as an historical painter, particularly of Scottish history, so this piece is an outlier within his collection of work. It was completed early in his career, prior to a trip to Spain that wholly altered his painting technique, which may explain his move away from historical subjects. The painting was donated to the Brechin Town Hall by Lord Panmure, who purchased several of Phillip's paintings and donated them all.[234] As with Allan's first painting depicting the same scene, this is a relatively early commemoration of Bruce, though in this case the reasons behind Phillip's decision to depict Bruce are less clear. One suggestion is that the work was completed in the same year as the Disruption and, though the work is depicting a Catholic mass, the iconography is distinctly Protestant. In particular, the priest's attire is not typical of Catholic robes, particularly in regard to the black colour. He is also not depicted with the Eucharist, but rather holding a gold cup. Religion was a common theme for Phillip and he had several other paintings that focused on Presbyterianism in

[233] P. Stirton, (2004) 'Phillip, John,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/22140?docPos=1.
[234] Stirton, 'Phillip,' *ODNB*.

Scotland from early in his career, including *Presbyterian Catechising* (1847) and *Baptism in Scotland* (1850).[235]

Figure 5.8: John Phillip, *Robert the Bruce on the Eve of Bannockburn Receiving the Sacrament from the Abbot of Inchaffre*, 1843 (artUK)

The painting of Bruce references the stories that suggest the Scottish army heard mass before the battle of Bannockburn. It was popularised by Barbour in *The Bruce*, 'When it became day the Scotsmen devoutly heard mass.'[236] In this particular scene, Bruce is receiving the sacrament from the Abbot. The focus of this painting is on the lighted, left-hand side. In addition to the Abbot and Bruce in the centre, this side also features other religious figures, workers, women and children. In contrast, on the darker right-hand side there are soldiers, and the field of Bannockburn in the background. James Douglas stands just behind Bruce, holding Bruce's standard, and he can be recognised by his heraldry. This painting illustrates the contrast between the disarray of war and the calm of peace – the lighted left-hand side is more orderly than the dark right-hand one.

This painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1843, 'occasioning no critical comment for anti-English sentiment.'[237] With this comment Morrison

[235] Stirton, 'Phillip,' *ODNB*.
[236] J. Barbour, (2007) *The Bruce*, ed. and trans. A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics), 468; This claim likely originated in Barbour's poem.
[237] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 121.

is highlighting how acceptable images of the Wars were during this period, further reiterating how the Wars were portrayed as leading to the Union, rather than as a time of war between Scotland and England. As Morrison has indicated, perhaps this is why Phillip chose to illustrate this scene of religion, rather than a battle scene.[238]

The next painting of Bruce dates from more than seventy years after Phillip's painting, William Findlay's *The Liberation of Scotland (The Battle of Bannockburn)* [Figure 5.9] was completed in 1914. This gap may be reflective of trends in commemoration, and perhaps art was less popular during the end of the nineteenth century when statues of Bruce were numerous. The painting may also be inspiration for the beginning of the First World War, showing a medieval military hero victorious in battle. Findlay was born in Glasgow in 1875, and he is known for his work as a portrait artist, muralist, and etcher.[239] Findlay's work is an allegorical portrayal of the Battle of Bannockburn. Bruce is featured at the top of the painting, wearing his heraldry and his standard flying behind him. He is placed above all the other action, though he is being held up by the other figures in the painting. Just below Bruce is a distressed looking woman holding a sword at her side. Given that the sword is longer than average, it could be an allusion to the two-handed sword often associated with Wallace, which will be discussed in the next section. To her left is an older man who appears to be removing his overcoat, revealing white clothing underneath. These figures appear to be allegorical, representing Scotland being 'liberated,' which is the title of the painting. There are also two figures who are lighted to the right side of the painting who appear to be soldiers, stopping in the middle of fighting to look in awe at the figures above them. In the background, the painting features a muddled collection of flags and figures, presumably soldiers engaged in battle.

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[238] Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, 123.
[239] 'William Findlay, 1875-1960,' *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*, University of Glasgow, Accessed 9 November 2015. http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/people/biog/?bid=Find_W&initial=F.

Figure 5.9: William Findlay, *The Liberation of Scotland (The Battle of Bannockburn)*, 1914 (artUK)

The next painting comes from the same year as Findlay's work and it also depicts the Battle of Bannockburn, though in a strikingly different manner. John Hassall's *Bannockburn* [Figure 5.10], from 1914-15, again appears to be depicting Scottish soldiers hearing mass prior to the Battle of Bannockburn. The scene shows the army on the battlefield, with Stirling Castle visible in the distance. All of the figures in the foreground are kneeling except the Abbot. There are no clear clues as to which figure is Bruce. His flag, however, is prominent in the painting. The saltire flag is also depicted, which is an anachronism, as the first recorded use of the flag was nearly a century after the battle.[240] Hassell was best-known as a poster designer, and is unique in this list of artists in that he was not born in Scotland, but rather in Kent in England.[241] He was one of the first poster artists.[242] The impetus for this painting of

[240] G. Bartram, (2001) 'The Story of Scotland's Flags,' in *Proceedings of The XIX International Congress of Vexillology*, ed. M. Edwards (York: Fédération internationale des associations vexillologiques).
[241] B. Thomas, (2004) 'Hassall, John,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33753.
[242] Thomas, 'Hassall, John,' *ODNB.*

Bannockburn is not clear, though again the current fighting of the First World War may have been an inspiration to show a medieval battle, though the battle itself is not depicted in this work. It is intriguing to note, however, that several of his other paintings show a similar aesthetic, whether they are other historical paintings, such as *The State Entry of Queen Elizabeth into Bristol, 14 August 1574* (1917) [Figure 5.11], or more contemporary battles.

Figure 5.10: John Hassall, *Bannockburn*, 1914-1915 (artUK)

Figure 5.11: John Hassall, *The State Entry of Queen Elizabeth into Bristol, 14 August 1574*, 1917 (arkUK)

As a whole, the five paintings depicting Bruce and events from his life have a number of similarities. Four of the five paintings are show a scene from the Battle of Bannockburn, which demonstrates the popularity of the battle during this period, if not Bruce himself. Painting is also one of the types of commemoration where Bruce outnumbers Wallace, but perhaps this is because the artists were really depicting Bannockburn. Two of the paintings, Allan's *Heroism and Humanity* and Phillip's *Robert the Bruce on the Eve of Bannockburn*, also highlight Bruce's religiosity, though they downplay his Catholicism, showing the influence of the Disruption.

Turning now to depictions of Wallace, William Allan had one painting that is associated with Wallace, which is currently held in the Paisley Art Institute Collection. This undated work is titled *Blind Harry, Reciting the Deeds of Wallace* [Figure 5.12]. Since this painting is set after the Wars, when Hary was writing about the life of Wallace, it does not strictly fit within this study. It is worth mentioning, however, to illustrate that Allan also took an interest in Wallace, at least tangentially. It also shows the knowledge of Hary's poem during this time, likely because of the modernisations of the text outlined earlier in this chapter.

Figure 5.12: William Allan, *Blind Harry, Reciting the Deeds of Wallace*, date unknown (artUK)

The next artist, David Scott, was born in Edinburgh, and attended the Trustees' Academy in his youth, much like Allan.[243] His principal interest was in life drawing, and his paintings often focused on themes of death and terror, possibly because of the devastating loss of four siblings within days of each other during his childhood.[244] He did not find success as an artist in life, which perhaps contributed to the reputation he received for being rather despondent, both in work and life.[245] Scott did not consider himself a historical painter.[246] He did, however, paint a triptych called, *Wallace: Defender of Scotland* [Figure 5.13] in 1843, though it is 'an allegory of Scottish independence,' rather than a historical painting.[247] Though this was also painted in the year of the Disruption, as was Phillip's scene of Bruce receiving the sacrament prior to Bannockburn, it does not feature the same religious themes.

Figure 5.13: David Scott, *Wallace: Defender of Scotland*, 1843 (artUK)

[243] J. Morrison, (2004) 'Scott, David,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/24866?docPos=3.
[244] Morrison, 'Scott,' *ODNB*.
[245] Morrison, 'Scott,' *ODNB*.
[246] Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, 206.
[247] MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, 206.

The central panel features Wallace in battle with King Edward I. The lion rampant on the flag behind him is normally associated with Bruce, but it may refer to his role as Guardian of Scotland. There is also a flag-bearing figure on the left, which appears to be an allegorical figure given his clothing. Perhaps most intriguing are the differences in the portrayals of Edward and Wallace. Edward looks diminutive and elderly compared to Wallace's sizeable and youthful appearance. Wallace is attacking, while Edward is standing with his sword almost at his side. He looks defiant, but also as though he is sitting back on his heels. Wallace is clearly in the position of authority in the painting. What's more, this battle between the two men is taking place over a dead English solider who is blocking Edward's way, while Wallace steps onto him. This work also includes two side panels, one featuring a spearman encountering English bowmen, and the other a religious figure with a bard's harp.[248] MacMillan has argued the references to the bard bring to mind Gray's poem 'The Bard,' 'the poem is a curse uttered against Edward who, recognising their importance as spiritual leaders, had ordered the Welsh bards to be massacred.'[249]

Scott created another work based on Wallace prior to this piece. In 1841 he submitted a work to a competition to decorate the new palace of Westminster, which depicted Wallace in battle with the English.[250] It was rejected, suggesting that while scenes from the Wars of Independence were accepted in this period, overt battle scenes were not. It may have also been an indication that paintings depicting the Wars were deemed appropriate in galleries, but less so in parliament.

The next example was painted by William Bell Scott, brother of David Scott. William was also born in Edinburgh, and moved to London to help establish his career as a painter and poet.[251] He is perhaps best known now for

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[248] Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, 206.
[249] MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, 206.
[250] MacMillan, *Scottish Art*, 206.
[251] J. Batchelor, (2004) 'Scott, William Bell,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/article/24938?docPos=1.

his work at Wallington Hall, where he painted a series of scenes depicting Northumbrian history between 1855 and 1861.[252] This project is said to be one of the inspirations for the later murals at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[253] The date of his painting *The Trial of Sir William Wallace at Westminster* [Figure 5.14] is unknown, though it is possibly from earlier in his career when he first became interested in historical painting, but before he took up murals. The painting depicts Wallace's trial prior to his execution. Wallace is the focal point of the painting, based on his location in the centre-right of the action and the use of light. He is also the only figure wearing white, in addition to a crown of thorns and a bright red belt holding his chains, a symbol of martyrdom. Perhaps most strikingly, he is significantly larger than anyone else in the painting, clearly alluding to the popular myth that Wallace was unusually tall. Scott was clearly portraying Wallace as a Christ-like figure in this painting, as evidenced by Wallace's attire, the crown of thorns, the martyr's belt, and the jeering crowd.

Figure 5.14: William Bell Scott, *The Trial of Sir William Wallace at Westminster*, date unknown (artUK)

[252] Batchelor, 'Scott,' *ODNB*.
[253] Batchelor, 'Scott,' *ODNB*.

Conclusion

With the exception of the two paintings from the beginnings of the First World War, all of the above examples date from the early-to-mid nineteenth century. This could, as suggested above, reflect trends in commemoration. It may also show the close relationship between literature and historical painting, as this was also the high point for a lot of texts dedicated to the Wars. It was also generally a popular period for Scottish historical painting, and the Wars were in no way the only aspect of Scottish history that Scottish artists were painting at this time.

A key question when considering all of the above examples is to what extent the public would have seen or been aware of these paintings. As indicated at the beginning of this section, there was a sense that exhibitions should be open to more levels of society, as well as a concept of 'national art,' that members of society should be familiar with. In this sense, it would seem that the public would have more access to art than ever before. It was, however, dependent on where people were located. Paintings, though portable, are not passed around like a book or a poem might be, and though these paintings appeared in a variety of locations in Scotland and the UK, it is unlikely the majority of people would encounter them if they were located outside of the specific region where they lived. Though there were efforts to make galleries more open, there is also the question of how successful these efforts were, and whether the public made use of the reduced rates and free days.

The changing nature of Scottish political and religious identity is also very clear in this group of paintings. Several of the paintings, particularly those from the first half of the nineteenth century, show the influence of the Disruption, and questions about the future of the kirk in Scotland. It is also clear that Bruce's Catholicism was portrayed as closer to Presbyterianism, to be more recognisable to those viewing the paintings. The artists' political views could also be seen in a number of the paintings, particularly Findlay and Scott's works. There was also evidence of the inspiration of European artists, particularly in

the two paintings seemingly influenced by Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People.* Overall, it is clear that in paintings dedicated to the Wars of Independence, the victorious battles and heroic figures were favoured.

5.3: Relics

A common problem for museum curators and others who have wanted to include the Wars of Independence in object-based displays is that there are very few artefacts that can be definitively dated to the period. There are a variety of ways this can be addressed, including the display of objects that were once thought to date from the Wars, though displayed with the caveat that they did not. The new Visitor's Centre at Bannockburn, which opened in 2014 for the 700th anniversary of the battle, avoided this by recreating the battle in an immersive experience that is part-video game and part-board game.

In the nineteenth century, there were many more objects that were thought to date from this period than there are today. These objects, or relics, refer to items that were commemorated because 'they had been associated with – had been owned by, participated in, or merely been physically contiguous to – an illustrious person or a major historical event.'[254] Teresa Barnett has discussed the popularity and use of relics in America in the nineteenth century, but her central arguments also relate to the Scottish objects associated with the Wars of Independence. In particular, Barnett has suggested that while relics often only represent disparate random moments in history, 'collectively they articulated a coherent historical vision, one that emphasised the specificity of time's individual moments and the irreversibility of its flow.'[255] Barnett suggests there were three types of relics in the nineteenth century. The first are those that had a 'casual, one-time contact with a historical person or event.'[256] In the case of the Wars of Independence, these would refer mainly to landmark objects, such as a rock from which Wallace led a battle, or the Bore Stone at

[254] T. Barnett, (2013) *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 18.
[255] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 28
[256] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 23.

Bannockburn where Bruce apparently placed his standard. Barnett's second type of relics are those that were made from a historical object.[257] One example of this is the Wallace chair, which Scott purchased, that is said to have been made from wood from the house in Robroyston where Wallace was captured by the English.[258] Another example is a snuffbox that Buchan sent to George Washington, which was said to be made of wood from a tree where Wallace hid after the battle of Falkirk, before he was captured by the English.[259] The final type of relics, as described by Barnett, are pieces of the environment that were removed from historic sites.[260] These tend to be natural features such as, to give one of Barnett's examples, flowers from Civil War battle sites.[261] The clear missing element in this list are those objects that *belonged* to a significant historical figure, not just something they interacted with. Barnett equates these with 'mementos,' but for the purposes of this thesis they fit within the wider definition of a relic – an object that is given meaning and significance because of its association with the past.

A clear comparison to these historical relics is saints' relics. Objects associated with saints are cherished because they are a potential source of sacred power, rather than as historical objects.[262] However, both types of relics are similar in that they are seen as allowing for a direct connection between the past and the present. There has been some debate amongst scholars as to what extent this rise of historically focused relics in the nineteenth century is

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[257] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 23
[258] H. Cheape, T. Cowie and C. Wallace, (2003) 'Sir Walter Scott, the Abbotsford Collection and the National Museums of Scotland,' in *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence,* ed. I.G. Brown (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), 51.
[259] 'To George Washington from the Earl of Buchan, 27 March 1790,' *Founders Online*, National Archives, accessed 16 June 2017, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-05-02-0181; Through his friendship with Benjamin Franklin, Buchan began a correspondence with George Washington, and there were at least eighteen letters between the two from 1790 to 1798. They could claim distant relatives through the Fairfax line, and Buchan often referred to Washington as his 'kinsman'. Buchan sent one of his early letters in the snuffbox. The authenticity of this claim is, of course, questionable, but this was surely a prized possession of Buchan's, and therefore a generous gift. In Washington's final will he sent the box back to Buchan, writing that it does not belong anywhere more than in Buchan's cabinet. Buchan later referred to Washington as 'the modern American Wallace'.
[260] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 24
[261] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 24
[262] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 18

evidence of increased secularisation. Barnett suggests historians are often too quick to draw a comparison, and that relics are not always discussed with religious associations.[263] In contrast, Felicity Bodenstein, who has studied the rise of museums in Paris following the French Revolution, does draw a link between the diminishing power of the church and the rise of historical relics.[264] Bodenstein suggests the formal way in which relics were often presented in the nineteenth century shows similarities with traditional displays of Catholic reliquaries.[265] She gives the example of a room containing objects belonging to Napoleon in the Musée des Souverains, which in 1853 was described by the museum's director, '[the] lighting and decoration had been designed to produce a contemplative atmosphere that called for religious silence in this funerary monument dedicated to the Memory of Napoleon as the spiritual counterpart to his earthly body's resting place at the *Invalides.*'[266] Scotland did not, of course, experience the same seismic shift in the power of the church that the French Revolution brought, but the Disruption of 1843, and the fallout from this, did represent a significant shift in the role of religion in culture, politics, and daily life. Perhaps the new veneration of historical relics from the Wars of Independence was also replacing earlier devotional practices.

In addition to saints' relics, other historical relics were also popular attractions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beiner discusses on items associated with the Great Irish Rebellion were often displayed, such as at St. Mel's College Diocesan Museum in Longford in 1938, where twelve relics were displayed, 'including projectiles, swords, and bayonets found on the Ballinamuck battlefield.'[267] In the following case studies there will also be examples of relics from the Wars of Independence being displayed alongside those from other events in Scottish history. This is particularly true in large exhibitions, where a general interest in the Scottish historical past was being

[263] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 50-51.
[264] F. Bodenstein, (2011) 'The Emotional Museum. Thoughts on the "Secular Relics" of Nineteenth-Century History Museums in Paris and their Posterity,' *Conserveries mémorielles* 9, 5.
[265] Bodenstein, 'Emotional Museum,' 6.
[266] Bodenstein, 'Emotional Museum,' 9.
[267] Beiner, *Remembering the Year*, 233.

displayed. In contrast, relics to the Wars would appear on their own at monument unveilings, where the focus was on a specific event or figure.

Barnett has also discussed how these relics could have an impact on the formation of national identity, suggesting they helped build a sense of collective identity through 'affirming bonds' of a shared historical past.[268] Of course, this also dictated who could be part of this collective past. Generally, the only people who could own these relics were wealthy individuals who had historically significant families through which the objects had been passed down. Generally, only friends of these individuals could view them, or those who could afford the entrance fee and travel costs to see exhibitions of the relics. Such exhibitions will form the first section of this chapter, in order to consider what relics were in existence in the nineteenth century, and to consider the ways these relics were made accessible to the public. The role relics played in ceremonies will also be considered in this section. The second section will take the form of a case study of a specific relic, Wallace's longsword, which will show the impact relics could have on the wider commemoration of figures and events from the Wars of Independence.

Viewing Relics

One of the foremost ways members of the public could view relics of the past in nineteenth-century Scotland was through exhibitions. This was not realistic for everyone, however, as travel and entrance fees were still a prohibiting factor for many. It is clear, however, by the detail provided in newspapers about many of these exhibitions that they caused a lot of excitement amongst the public. This also reflects another way the public may have encountered the relics – even if they could not attend exhibits they could learn about them through the newspapers. Bodenstein has suggested that during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries families often chose public exhibition for their relics, as it 'guaranteed the inalienability of their

[268] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 74.

holdings.'[269] This shows that exhibitions were mutually beneficial for both the elites who owned the relics and members of the public who could then view them. This arrangement also benefitted the groups putting on the exhibitions, as they would profit from them.

The largest exhibition of relics associated with the Wars of Independence from this period was at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1888. The catalogue descriptions of the objects from the Wars were printed in an 1889 edition of Skeat's version of *The Bruce*.[270] This list includes all of the objects that were on display, any known history about them, and who they belonged to. This suggests the relics at the Glasgow Exhibition created renewed interest in the Wars, and thus a new edition of *The Bruce* was printed. This may also explain why an exhibition catalogue was included as part of the publication, though it may also have been for the benefit of members of the public who were unable to attend the exhibition themselves.

All of the historic objects at the exhibition were housed in the reconstructed Bishop's Castle, an 'ancient fortified "palace" or residence of the prelates of Glasgow.'[271] The objects were largely loans from private individuals, and the *Glasgow Herald* remarked in February of 1888 that 'offers of contributions of the most important character have poured in upon them so freely that it is now certain the Scottish Historical Collection will be the most important and significant exhibition of the kind that has ever been brought together.'[272] The same article said the aim of the committee was to 'present a continuous history of the political, ecclesiastical, and social development of the Scottish people.'[273] Again, the teleological view of history as continuous progression is evident in this aim. The article also noted that objects from the medieval period 'are of necessity few,' but reassured readers that the most important of the medieval relics had already been promised to the exhibition.[274]

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[269] Bodenstein, 'Emotional Museum,' 11
[270] J. Paton, (1888) *The Book of the Bishop's Castle, and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable), printed in Skeat, *The Bruce*.
[271] 'News,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 25 May 1888.
[272] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 24 Feb 1888.
[273] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' 24 Feb 1888.
[274] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' 24 Feb 1888.

Articles about the relics continued to appear in newspapers as new items were loaned to the exhibition. For example, in April of 1888 an article in the *Glasgow Herald* revealed that a contribution had come 'from beyond the Border…It came from Mrs Downing Bruce, Harrow, and includes several relics of King Robert the Bruce. There is a bit of the monarch's leather shroud, a piece of the *toile d'or* in which his body was wrapped, and also a few locks of the hair of Elizabeth, his Queen.'[275] These objects were indeed displayed as part of the exhibition and were included in the later catalogue.

The Bishop's Castle displays were opened on 25 May 1888.[276] An article from the same day emphasised the significance of bringing such a large collection of historic objects together, 'happily it is now recognised generally that the intelligent study of the institutions, manners, customs, and "common objects" of past ages is a valuable aid in the development of culture.'[277] The article went on to say the authors 'hope some permanent record of its contents will be provided for the edification of all interested in the most personal and direct aspects of Scottish history.'[278] Some of the articles about the opening also went into detail about the artefacts on display. For example, in an article that described the layout of the building, the displays about the Wars of Independence mentioned,

> The great hall on the upper floor is devoted more exclusively to the illustration of historical epochs and events connected with Crown and State. The series of relics may be said to begin with King Robert the Bruce, but they do not close with the pen which was used for singing the Treaty of Union, for that event did not close the history of Scotland.[279]

This remark further reveals how identities were reconciled at this time – the objects were displayed within a narrative that linked them to the Union, but also as an important part of Scottish history.

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[275] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 21 Apr 1888.
[276] 'News,' 25 May 1888.
[277] 'News,' 25 May 1888.
[278] 'News,' 25 May 1888.
[279] 'The Bishop's Castle,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 25 May 1888.

According to the catalogue printed in *The Bruce*, there were seventeen objects associated with the Wars of Independence that were on display at the Glasgow Exhibition. They ranged from an iron hand Bruce allegedly sent a follower who lost his hand in battle, to a calthrop of the sort that was used to lame the horses of the English cavalry during the Battle of Bannockburn, to a piece of the toile d'or from Bruce's tomb.[280] The most common type of object was those associated with battle, including five swords and a battle-axe. The swords ranged from a 'two-handed sword with scabbard, used by the Laird of Lundie at Bannockburn,' to 'the sword which King Robert the Bruce on his deathbed gave to Sir James Douglas.'[281] The description of the battle-axe, which would, if authentic, be of great interest given the prevalence of images of Bruce with the axe, said only 'battle-axe which belonged to King Robert the Bruce. Lent by A.J.H. Campbell.'[282] Some of the entries contained more information about the relics than others, so it seems that the entries were dependent on the information given by the loaner. Campbell also loaned a spur and stirrups, both of which contain no information beyond that they were 'according to tradition, left by the Bruce when he handed over the castle to the Campbells.'[283] As proof of this, the entry gave the reference for this event in Barbour. The longest entry is devoted to the Brooch of Lorne, which is said to have fastened Bruce's plaid.[284] The sheer length of the account of this brooch compared with the other entries is further proof that the information was provided by the loaners, rather than by separate historical research.

Perhaps most notable about this list is that none of these objects are associated with Wallace. An article from August 1888 about the exhibition addressed this, saying 'there is not in the Bishop's Castle a single relic associated with the name of Wallace, but that may be explained by the circumstance that it is doubtful whether any genuine personal memorial of that great chief really

[280] Paton, *Book of the Bishop's Castle*, xciv, xcvi, xcvii.
[281] Paton, *Book of the Bishop's Castle,* xcv.
[282] Paton, *Book of the Bishop's Castle,* xcvii.
[283] Paton, *Book of the Bishop's Castle,* xcvii.
[284] Paton, *Book of the Bishop's Castle,* xcv.

exists.'[285] The article went on to discuss the existence of a sword thought to have belonged to Wallace, explaining why it was not included, 'but we fear the evidence which favours the claim would not be accepted by the modern investigator.'[286] This article reveals that the authenticity of the relics in the exhibition was important to the public and it is clear there was some level of curation, as objects like the Wallace sword were not admitted. That being said, there were objects included were clear anachronisms, such as the other two-handed swords, which were not used in Scotland for two centuries following the events of the Wars of Independence.[287] The same article addressed the question of authenticity directly, however, suggesting it should not be the focus for attendees,

> With these relics certificates of authenticity are really a matter of secondary importance. There they are, objects which have been cherished with religious care for centuries…Around them have clustered many traditions, and these traditions have so penetrated national life that they have attained the consistency and virtue of truth. It matters little now although we may be told by high authority that these things are not what they purport to be; they are sanctioned with the faith of centuries, their traditions would cling to them in spite of the clearest demonstration, and they will remain in all times the most cherished monuments of the great men with whose names they have so long and so intimately been associated.[288]

This author is arguing a point that historians of commemoration today still argue – that though objects may be historically inaccurate, they can gain importance over time through commemorative acts.

Though the Glasgow Exhibition brought together the largest collection of relics from the Wars of Independence, there were other exhibitions that also displayed various relics during this time period, tough these are largely a late nineteenth century phenomenon. The only example of an earlier display of a relic from the Wars is from an account of the Fifeshire Literary, Scientific, and Antiquarian Society in 1838, when they released a list of recent contributions,

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[285] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 29 Aug 1888.
[286] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' 29 Aug 1888.
[287] D. Caldwell, (2007) 'The Wallace Sword,' in *The Wallace Book*, ed. E.J. Cowan (Edinburgh: Birlinn), 174.
[288] 'Glasgow International Exhibition,' 29 Aug 1888.

including a 'small piece of the lead coffin of King Robert Bruce,' donated by Reverend Adam Cairns from Cupar.[289] There is not any mention of this relic being displayed at any later exhibition. This supports Barnett's argument that relics in the early nineteenth century were not available to the public, but rather 'largely in the collections of antiquarians.'[290]

In the years following the Glasgow Exhibition many of the relics seen in the Bishop's Castle appeared on display elsewhere. In 1889, the Naval and Military Exhibition in Edinburgh featured the aforementioned iron hand, as well as a horn belonging to the same family, which had also been displayed at the Glasgow Exhibition.[291] These items were included in the final of eight groups of displays, which focused on 'memorials and relics of a heterogeneous character.'[292] This article questions the authenticity of the horn, suggesting it 'is of an unknown date, but the ornamentation upon it is of the time of Charlemagne.'[293] The following year, 1890, relics were again placed on display in Lanark for an Art, Loan, and Industrial Exhibition.[294] It was opened on 7 August by the Earl of Home, who loaned a number of relics, including 'the sword given by King Robert the Bruce to Good Sir James Douglas.'[295] This exhibition focused exclusively on the local history of the 'Upper Ward of Lanarkshire,' which is an example of municipal locality.[296]

In 1911 there was another exhibition in Glasgow, though with an explicitly national focus, rather than the international focus of the 1888 exhibition. The goals for the exhibit was to 'raise a fund to be applied primarily to the endowment of a Chair of Scottish History and Literature in Glasgow University.'[297] An article suggested this goal 'appeals to the patriotic instincts of

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[289] 'Fifeshire Literary, Scientific, and Antiquarian Society,' *The Fife Herald, Kinross, Strathearn and Clackmannan Advertiser* (Cupar), 17 May 1838.
[290] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 26; C.S. Peirce, (1985) 'Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs,' in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Robert E. Innis [Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 10-12.
[291] 'The Naval and Military Exhibition,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 19 Jun 1889.
[292] 'The Naval and Military Exhibition,' 19 Jun 1889.
[293] 'The Naval and Military Exhibition,' 19 Jun 1889.
[294] 'Lanark Art, Loan, and Industrial Exhibition,' *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 7 Aug 1890.
[295] 'Lanark Art, Loan, and Industrial Exhibition,' 7 Aug 1890.
[296] 'Lanark Art, Loan, and Industrial Exhibition,' 7 Aug 1890.
[297] 'Scottish National Exhibition,' *The Courier and Argus* (Dundee), 2 May 1911.

every true-born Scot.'[298] In 1898, William Freeland, editor of *The Evening Times*, first suggested this position at the University of Glasgow to the Burns Federation, though a full campaign was not launched until 1907.[299] The article in the *Glasgow Herald* also mentioned that that year marked the anniversary of the Union.[300] In 1909, a committee was created to 'promote an Exhibition of Scottish National History, Art and Industry in 1911 to stimulate interest in history and literature among the general public, and to endow the chair.'[301] The exhibition featured a number of different buildings, including a 'palace of history.'[302] It ran from 2 May to 4 November 1911, and had 9.3 million visitors in that time, nearly twice that of the international exhibition in 1888.[303] Cowan has suggested 'there may not be another example anywhere in the world of a chair about which there was such a sense of public ownership.'[304]

On display at the exhibition were two documents apparently from the time of the Wars – the deed where Bruce says his heart should be buried at Melrose, and a letter written by Wallace and Andrew Moray.[305] The letter was loaned by the Lubeck Government, where it has been held since it was written to the 'authorities of Lubeck' in the fourteenth century.[306] This letter was requested after organisers were criticised for not having any relics associated with Wallace on display.[307] This suggests the public may have been able to voice concerns such as these to the organisers, likely by writing letters.

There is also an example of a relic from the Wars being displayed outside of Scotland. Robert Fleming, a native of Dundee, held a series of 'romantic' exhibits at his home in London.[308] In 1931 he displayed a brooch 'said to have been given to them [the MacLean family] from his own plaid by Robert the

[298] 'Scottish National Exhibition,' 2 May 1911.
[299] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 182.
[300] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 182; See also: Cameron, 'Bicentenary of the Union.'
[301] Unknown author, (1909) *Scotia: The Journal of the St Andrew Society* 3, 116-7, quoted in Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 188.
[302] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 191.
[303] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 191.
[304] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 189.
[305] 'Scottish National Exhibition,' 2 May 1911.
[306] 'Letter of Sir William Wallace,' *Aberdeen Daily Journal* (Aberdeen), 25 Mar 1911.
[307] Cowan, 'Patriotism, Public Opinion,' 191.
[308] 'The Brooch of Robert the Bruce,' *The Evening Telegraph and Post* (Dundee), 22 Jan 1931.

Bruce, and because they were fighters in the land long before the ancestors of the Scottish King came from Normandy to this country.'[309] The article takes into account the brooch of Lorne, saying that after Bruce gifted it, he must have sent for this brooch.[310] This suggests the brooch of Lorne was well-known in this period, so the author had to explain how there could also be another brooch. The article does not explicitly question the authenticity of the brooch belonging to the MacLean family, but it does note it may date from the Wars, but 'if this brooch really belonged to Robert the Bruce, and if it is not the work of some craftsman who lived some two centuries after his death, what a wonderful country Scotland must have been, how rich in cultured craftsmen.'[311]

Relics were also occasionally used for ceremonial purposes. In 1818, during the ceremony to lay the foundation stone for the new church at Dunfermline, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Earl of Elgin led a procession that included 'the sword and helmet of King Robert.'[312] At the laying of the foundation stone for the National Wallace Monument, in 1861, six different swords were part of the procession up to Abbey Craig, all of which apparently dated from the time of the Wars. These included the 'Wallace sword' that now resides in the monument itself; two swords said to be used by Sir John de Graeme, one of which belonged to the Earl of Elgin; a sword used in the Battle of Stirling Bridge; Bruce's sword, which was also sent by Elgin; and a sword apparently belonging to James Douglas, sent by 'Mr. Campbell of Tillichewan.'[313] This appears to be a different sword than the one that Bruce gave to Douglas that would later be on display at the Glasgow Exhibition, as they were owned by different families. Therefore, there were at least six different swords in the possession of noble families in the nineteenth century that were said to be from the time of the Wars of Independence. None of these swords are now considered to be from the Wars. It is worth noting that none of these relics were at the official openings of either the new Dunfermline church nor the National Wallace

[309] 'The Brooch of Robert the Bruce,' 22 Jan 1931.
[310] 'The Brooch of Robert the Bruce,' 22 Jan 1931.
[311] 'The Brooch of Robert the Bruce,' 22 Jan 1931.
[312] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 19; Unknown title, 24 February 1818.
[313] Middleton, *Guide to the National Wallace Monument*, 10-11.

Monument, only at the ceremonies to lay the respective foundation stones, as disagreements amongst the interested parties meant that the opening ceremonies were much smaller affairs. People were often not in agreement in how commemorations should be undertaken, and the personal benefits to undertake acts of commemoration were often at odds with the benefits to other people.

Ceremonies also offered an opportunity for members of the public to obtain relics of their own. Souvenir hunting was not uncommon in the nineteenth century, and there are well-known incidents of chipping a piece of stone from Stonehenge, or stealing parts of the tapestry in Mary, Queen of Scots' bedroom.[314] The public viewing of Bruce's body, before the body was reinterred, offered such an opportunity. Eye-witness accounts of the day suggest that as people passed the body, displayed on a coffin board, they took small bones and pieces of the cloth and coffin.[315] This is further confirmed by the number of relics from this tomb that appear later in the nineteenth century, including the 'portion of the leathern shroud' and 'piece of the toile d'or' from Bruce's tomb that were on display at the Glasgow Exhibition. These could only have been attained by taking them from the tomb before it was reinterred.

Today, many of these relics are treated in much the same way as they were more than a century ago. Though the historical accuracy of most of these objects is perhaps questioned more today, during this period there were still questions of authenticity, such as when the Wallace sword was deemed too inauthentic to be part of the Glasgow Exhibition. Many of these relics are still held by the same families, such as Bruce's relics that still reside with the present Earl of Elgin. Others, however, are now on permanent display. At the National Museum of Scotland, for example, the Brooch of Lorne, a battle-axe, a caltrop, and fragment of cloth from Bruce's tomb are all on display, which are all items that were also on display at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1888. These are often displayed with a caveat that it is unclear whether they are actually from the time

[314] Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 20.
[315] Penman, 'Robert Bruce's Bones,' 35.

of the Wars, such as the battle-axe, which says that it was 'found at Bannockburn, possibly a later forgery.'[316] That being said, the very fact that they are still associated with the Wars of Independence, despite questions of accuracy, show they are still important to the wider commemoration of that period in history.

Wallace's longsword

This section takes the form of a close-reading of one relic, in order to consider the impact these objects can have on the overall commemoration of a figure from the Wars of Independence. The focus will be on depictions of Wallace with a two-handed longsword, including exploring where this legend may have come from, why it continues, and what effect this has on the overall Wallace tale.[317] The inherent dilemma with this image is that Wallace did not own and use a longsword during the Wars of Independence. Several scholars have shown that it is not feasible for Wallace to have possessed a longsword during his lifetime and perhaps most convincing is the argument that two-handed longswords did not appear in Scotland until the late fifteenth century, and the first definite use of them in a Scottish army was at the battle of Flodden in 1513, more than two hundred years after Wallace's death.[318]

Most scholars who engage with the history of Wallace's sword end their argument once they show that the sword is an anachronism. A few, notably David Caldwell and Magnus Magnusson, have taken their research a step further by examining the veracity of the 'Wallace Sword' on display since the late nineteenth century at the National Wallace Monument [Figure 5.15].[319] The apparent history of this sword, as compiled by Charles Rogers in the late nineteenth century, is that following Wallace's capture the sword was taken to

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[316] Label, Kingdom of the Scots gallery, National Museum of Scotland.
[317] A note on terminology: the term 'longsword' is being used here because it describes the sword – it is longer than the average sword, and thus would need to have been used with both hands.
[318] Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword,' 172.
[319] Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword'; M. Magnusson, (2000) *Scotland: The Story of a Nation* (London: HarperCollins Publishers).

Dumbarton, where it stayed for 600 years until it was given to the National Wallace Monument by the commander of the garrison at Dumbarton.[320] However, there are some gaps in this timeline. The sword only appears twice in the written record at Dumbarton, in 1505 and 1825, and there is doubt that these are the same sword.[321] As Caldwell has best phrased it, 'no serious scholar has in recent times been inclined to give the Wallace Sword any credence as the hero's own.'[322] Work done on the sword at the monument has shown it is actually a compilation of at least three swords, possibly four swords.[323] Two of these date from later than the Wars of Independence, but one of these may date from the approximate time of the Wars of Independence. The best that can be said is this sword is perhaps the 'ghost' of Wallace's sword, with the oldest part having potentially belonged to Wallace, though it is highly unlikely that will or could ever be proven.[324] Even if this is the case, this sword would also have been a much more standard-sized sword. No scholar has gone further in considering the sword than Caldwell and Magnusson. Though the realisation that the Wallace sword, both in theory and practice, is historically inaccurate is important, not going beyond that minimises the lengths to which Wallace was shown with the sword throughout this period. Of all the images of Wallace in this thesis, 75% include him with a longsword. Therefore, though Wallace did not have a longsword in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he certainly did by the end of the nineteenth century.

[320] Rogers, *The Book of Wallace*.
[321] Rogers, *The Book of Wallace*; Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword,' 172.
[322] Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword,' 172.
[323] Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword,' 174.
[324] Magnusson, *The Story of a Nation*.

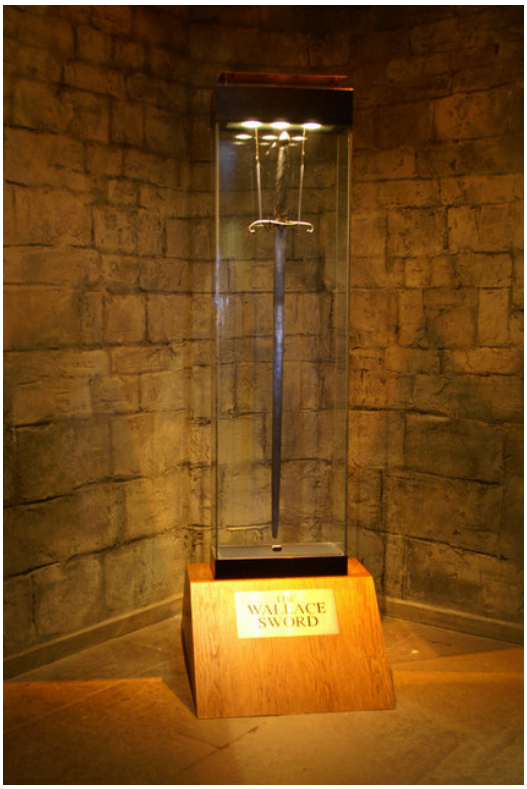

Figure 5.15: Wallace's sword, National Wallace Monument (Geograph)

The first question in considering the effect of the longsword is where this myth began. Many point to Hary's *Wallace,* which does mention Wallace's sword quite a few times, including describing 'his good sword, that heavy was, and long.'[325] However, Hary always describes him as using it one-handed, for example 'Except a sword…which he took in his hand.'[326] Hary's suggestion that Wallace's sword was 'heavy and long' could still have been the beginnings of this myth, however, as it is possible the heavy/long sword became a two-handed longsword once these were introduced in Scotland. Another potential source for the myth of Wallace's longsword is the trope of the Highland warrior. As has been shown numerous times in this thesis, depictions of Wallace and Bruce have often been used to draw a line between medieval military heroes and the idea of a historic Scottish military prowess. In addition, two-handed swords, most notably the claymore, are often attached to the image of an ideal Highland warrior. Perhaps the images of Wallace as this idealised warrior

[325] Hamilton, *Wallace*, 7:1, 101.
[326] Hamilton, *Wallace*, 2:4, 23.

required him to be shown with such a sword. Yet another origin for this myth could be the significant number of two-handed swords that belonged to important families within Scotland in this period, as evidenced by the above discussion of relics. As the Wars of Independence were one of the more popular historical periods during this time, perhaps there was a natural inclination to attempt to link these swords to Wallace and Bruce, rather than recognising them as being from the early-modern period. Regardless of how the myth began, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Wallace was almost exclusively shown with a longsword.

This myth was propagated in the nineteenth century in a number of ways. First are the sheer number of depictions of Wallace with the sword – 75% of the images in this thesis. There are also specific instances where the longsword is mentioned in texts. For example, in a 1909 *Guide to the National Wallace Monument*, written for tourists, William Middleton suggested the sword used to be even larger, but that the point was broken off when it was sent to London for repair in 1825 and thus had to be shortened.[327] Middleton did acknowledge that there was some doubt about the accuracy of the sword, but suggested these concerns were 'without sufficient reason.'[328] Less than twenty years later, during the debates about the Wallace and Bruce statues at Edinburgh Castle, Stanley Cursitor, a member of the committee, wrote to the *Scotsman* that, 'Wallace should not have a sword unknown in Scotland till 150 years after his death. It appears the deliberate perpetuation of a mistake is contrary to common sense.'[329] The Wallace statue at Edinburgh Castle is displayed with one of the shortest swords of any of the examples, so Cursitor appears to have succeed with his concerns. That being said, the sword is still larger than Bruce's, which reinforces the idea that Wallace had a larger sword than was standard at the time.

Another question that arises is whether these images of Wallace with a longsword are specific to certain types of commemorations, for example if

[327] Middleton, *National Wallace Monument*, 22.
[328] Middleton, *National Wallace Monument*, 22.
[329] NRS: 'Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle.' RF2/14.

statues depict him with a longsword far more than stained glass windows. This does not seem to be the case, with a nearly equal spread of depictions of Wallace with the longsword across the depictions of him. The one exception to this is the texts, where he is not described as having a longsword nearly as often as he is visually depicted with one. This likely relates to an issue of iconography. In texts, an author can identify Wallace, whereas with other forms of commemoration there needs to be signs and symbols to reveal this information to the audience. The longsword is one of the key identifiers of Wallace, which may explain why it is used far more in visual depictions of him.

There are three ways Wallace's depiction with a longsword impacts his commemoration. The first is that it helps to reinforce other ideas about him. In his short chapter on the Wallace sword, Caldwell begins by saying, 'Big men have big swords. None comes any bigger for the Scots than William Wallace.'[330] In terms of historical figures, it is true that no one comes bigger in terms of historical figures of Scotland than Wallace. He dominated interest in the Scottish medieval past for much of this period, and, in many ways, continues to do so today. However, the statement also alludes to the idea that Wallace was very tall. This notion that Wallace was much taller than the average man is essentially a given for many people. On the information panel beside the Wallace sword in the National Wallace Monument, it says, 'it is reasonable to assume that, in order to wield a sword of this size, Wallace would have had to be of considerable stature – at least six foot six inches in height.'[331] He is also depicted as very tall in a number of other examples from this thesis, such as the painting from Westminster where he is noticeably larger than anyone else. In terms of historical veracity for Wallace's apparent height, it is difficult to determine. Hary's *Wallace* and the fifteenth-century *Scotichronicon* both mention that he was taller than the average man, but we also know this was also of a trope of medieval heroes. King Arthur's bones were apparently recognised in the Middle Ages because of their sheer size. From Wallace's own period

[330] Caldwell, 'The Wallace Sword,' 169.
[331] Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 126.

Edward I, or Edward Longshanks, was supposed to be quite tall. Even Robert the Bruce is often described as being of above average height, and after the discovery of his bones in 1818 it was estimated he was about 6 feet, though today that has been changed at 5'6" to 5'9".[332] Clearly, one of several prerequisites for being a medieval hero is height, and every effort has been made to prove Wallace fits that criterion.

The second significant impact of the longsword on Wallace has to do with iconography. Symbols are incredibly important in commemorations as they can immediately indicate what is being remembered. Symbols are especially important in commemorating people when their appearance is not known. As was already suggested above, perhaps the sword is an indicator of Wallace's identity, as is the chainmail he is often seen wearing. Bruce, to give a relevant comparison, is nearly always shown with a crown, especially when he is pictured alongside Wallace. He is also often shown with his axe. Intriguingly, Bruce is occasionally also pictured with a longsword, though only about 17% of the time, as opposed to Wallace's 75%. Perhaps this reinforces the ideas about Bruce's own height, or perhaps having a longsword is another prerequisite for being a medieval hero. This is when having a variety of symbols becomes important. For example, the figures flanking the doors to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery look remarkably similar, and both have longswords, but Bruce has a crown to show his kingly status over Wallace's Guardianship role.

Finally, the representation of Wallace as a large man with a large sword has obvious gender implications. Swords are often seen as a phallic symbol of masculinity, and Wallace, with his longsword, is the epitome of medieval masculinity in nearly all his portrayals. He embodies military masculinity – in terms of his height, the size of his sword, his military prowess in life, and also his influence since death. This is particularly important in terms of a Scottish identity, as it reinforces a strong martial history.

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[332] 'Royal Dunfermline: King Robert the Bruce,' Royal Dunfermline website, accessed 3 December 2016.
http://www.royaldunfermline.com/Resources/DUNFERMLINE_AND_ROBERT_THE_BRUCE.pdf.

This case study of the impact of one relic on wider commemoration shows the intricate ways in which commemorations relate to each other. As more commemorations were created that depicted Wallace with the longsword, it further enforced that this was the 'correct' image of him, such as his height. Wallace's sword is not just a weapon, but rather a symbol of the popular assumptions of who he was and what he stood for.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that any of the objects discussed in this section are historically accurate. Ultimately, however, accuracy can often fall victim to commemoration. The emotional power of these objects, which all belonged to heroes of the Wars of Independence, are venerated not because of their accuracy but because of the emotional response they inspire in members of the public. Relics were important during this period as they inspired members of the public to become interested in the Wars of Independence, particularly when they were encountered at exhibitions. They also heavily influenced people's knowledge of the Wars of Independence, and none more so than Wallace's supposed longsword, which not only influenced what people thought about his weaponry, but also his size and how he engaged in battle.

This focused case study has illustrated why it is necessary to consider both the micro and the macro views when studying commemoration. The close examination of the history of depictions of Wallace's longsword allowed me to make a number of suggestions as the influence of this iconography on his legacy. This would not have been possible, however, without also understanding the culture in which these depictions were being created. Studies of commemoration should include examples of both views in order to give the fullest picture of the commemorative practices in question.

5.4: Conclusion

The category of moveable objects is the most disparate in this thesis, not only as these objects can be moved but also that it encompasses a wide range of types of sources. The first section on texts was focused on considering what knowledge different members of the public may have had about the Wars of Independence, which would have then impacted how they interacted with all other types of commemoration. The section on paintings revealed how few events from the Wars were depicted in this way, and also the way each painter's own bias influenced how they saw the events of the Wars. This further illustrates the difficulty in trying to determine a collective memory of the Wars in this period. The final section on relics showed how little a role historical accuracy can play in commemorations, particularly when faced with objects and stories that feel authentic to people. In some cases, as with Wallace's longsword, these inaccuracies can come to feel like the authentic stories about these figures.

This chapter also revealed further ways in which the public showed agency through commemoration. One of the main means was through the sharing of objects, particularly chapbooks, novels, and poetry and song books. The wider access to public galleries and museums also gave members of the public the opportunity to engage with the art and artefacts contained inside. The rise of temporary exhibitions that contained various relics also provided these opportunities, and because they were located in a variety of places there were more local opportunities to see and engage with these objects. There was a growing amount of personal agency over obtaining and sharing these commemorations throughout this period.

However, much of these examples show a top-down control over commemoration, with the upper classes, particularly men, having the most control over commemorative acts. This can be seen in club books, as access to the clubs was necessary to engage with these publications. A certain level of education was also needed to engage with most of the editions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace*, particularly those that were not modernised. Chapbooks were widely read, but they were largely created for the public, rather than by them. Paintings

were also largely held in galleries and other places that required access. Though galleries and museums were working to be more open in this period, that does not mean everyone was geographically close enough or even felt comfortable entering these spaces. Relics were generally held exclusively by wealthy, ancient families, and even the public exhibitions of these again had access issues geographically and monetarily. Though there are examples of the public having access to these sorts of commemorations, it is difficult to determine to what extent they were able to make use of said access.

This chapter also continued to explore the role of historical accuracy in commemoration, particularly through the use of relics. Despite the likely inaccuracies of all of the relics displayed in this period, they helped generate interest in the Wars of Independence as a whole. The case study of Wallace's longsword revealed the extent to which inaccuracies can become part of the wider story, and how difficult it can be to change public opinion once these tales have become popular.

Chapter Six
Conclusion – Accuracy and Significance

This thesis began with one of many letters written to the *Scotsman* about the proposed statues at Edinburgh Castle in the early-twentieth century. One of the first letters to be printed by the newspaper on this subject in 1928 was from J.P. MacGillivray, His Majesty's Sculptor for Scotland, who strongly believed the proposed statues were not enough of a tribute to Wallace and Bruce, 'I suppose the descendants of the Scots who bled with Wallace and followed the lead of Bruce are all dead, and that we are now in a kind of topsy-turvy age…that does not care what is popularly known as a 'damn' about those things of nationality and ancestors.'[1] The extensive commemorative acts that have formed the basis of this thesis have shown that this statement from MacGillivray is not reflective of this period in Scotland, and ideas of nationality and ancestors had very much been at the forefront of people's minds for at least a century. As interest in the Scottish historical past grew out of the antiquarian and Romantic period of the early-to-mid-nineteenth century, which led to an interest in memorialising the past through these commemorative acts.

In the conclusion to Ash's *Strange Death of Scottish History*, she argued that 'by the 1870s Scottish history was no longer a national preoccupation except when it touched national pride.'[2] In some ways, this statement accurately depicts when interest in the Scottish historical past was at its peak, i.e. when it was being used to reinforce a sense of Scottishness. However, as this thesis has shown, it misses out on the myriad reasons behind why people chose to commemorate the past – everything from choosing to read a chapbook that modernised Barbour's *The Bruce,* to displaying one's personal relationship with a town by publicly financing an act of commemoration, to groups of demonstrators using stories from the past to either reinforce or argue against

[1] This article was included in the following folder at the NRS: Wallace and Bruce Memorial: Edinburgh Castle, RF2/14.
[2] Ash, *Strange Death*, 150.

the Union. Only by considering a wide range of commemorations, and the impetuses behind them, can these views be appreciated.

6.1: Contributions

This thesis has focused on public commemorations of the Wars of Independence from 1800 to 1939, in an effort to better understand the influence of the Wars in this period as well as the wider practice of commemoration in Scotland. This approach has implications in a number of fields. In terms of Scottish history this thesis has expanded on existing work from Morton, Coleman, Penman, Ash, and McCrone, amongst others, that looks at either one type of commemorative act or one figure from the Wars. By considering a wider selection of commemorations across time, I have been able to consider the wider picture of commemorations to the Wars and how they interact, such as with the rise of a number of types of commemorations in the 1880s. Taking this view also showed the role of locality in the commemorative efforts during this period, which has not yet been the central focus in studies of commemorations to the Wars of Independence. It is my intention that this research will now be used to interrogate some of the case studies further, while keeping in mind this wider context.

This thesis also presented a new framework for studying local commemorations, which will be discussed further below. This has the most relevant in the field of commemorative studies, and a future course of study will be to test this framework by applying it to others location and other types of commemoration. The study of commemoration is often focused on war memorialisation from the lens of national identity, but this approach shows that the local influence is equally influential.

In terms of medievalism, this is the first study dedicated to the Wars of Independence that has overtly used the influence of medievalism, and it is clear there is potential for considering the commemoration of the Wars from that lens. Following Shippey's suggestion of a collected anthology of a variety of types of commemoration has allowed this study to consider the topic of the

commemoration of the Wars of Independence from several innovative ways, including examining the role of the public. This study has also joined those of Goebel in showing the role of medieval commemoration in contemporary wars, particularly the First World War.

This thesis has also considered the question of whether commemorations should be more focused on accuracy or significance. In reality, both have a role to play in commemoration. As Patrick Fraser Tytler said in 1832, 'the bulk of mankind are ever more captivated by what is wonderful and romantic, than interested in the truth.'[3] The people and events of the Wars of Independence have long captivated the interest of the public and historians alike. Penman has asked whether historians can have an impact on the 'popular image' of Bruce.[4] Perhaps an even more pertinent question to the study of commemoration, however, is to ask how historians can meaningfully use these 'popular images' in order to understand the role and influence of commemorating the past.

The remainder of this conclusion will consist of highlighting the key contributions of this thesis. First the thesis as a whole will be used to compare the commemorations of the two central figures – Wallace and Bruce. The following section will revisit both of the themes to indicate what this study revealed about locality and the role of the public. Finally, ultimate conclusions will be drawn for the thesis.

6.2: Wallace and Bruce

The achievements and impact of Wallace and Bruce have long been a natural site of comparison. In terms of their commemoration, it is generally accepted by scholars that Wallace has been the subject of more commemorative acts than Bruce, particularly in the nineteenth century.[5] Finlay has argued this is

[3] Tytler, *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, volume one, 283.
[4] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 1-2
[5] Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries'; Morton, 'Diminished Present'; Morton, *William Wallace*; Coleman, *Remembering the Past*.

because it was easier for 'middle-class Scots' to identify with 'the qualities of self-sacrifice, civic duty, patriotism, individualism and the belief in meritocracy.'[6] Penman agrees, suggesting Bruce was less popular than Wallace because of Wallace's status as a 'lad o'pairts.'[7] To test this assumption, I examined Appendix Three, which contains all of the case studies in this thesis. Of the ninety-two acts of commemoration that acted as case studies, 54% are dedicated to Wallace and 47% to Bruce. Therefore, though Wallace is indeed commemorated more than Bruce in the acts in this thesis, it is not by any significant amount. This data may be slightly skewed as I tried to include a variety of people and events in the case studies, but it does still suggest Bruce is commemorated more than one may originally assume.

This group of ninety-two can also be split into the three types of commemoration the chapters are divided into – unmovable (Chapter Three), immaterial (Chapter Four), and movable (Chapter Five). There were twenty-nine examples of commemorative acts in Chapter Three, eleven in Chapter Four, and fifty-two in Chapter Five. Figure 6.1 shows which acts of commemoration in each chapter were dedicated to Wallace, Bruce, and all the other people and events from the Wars.

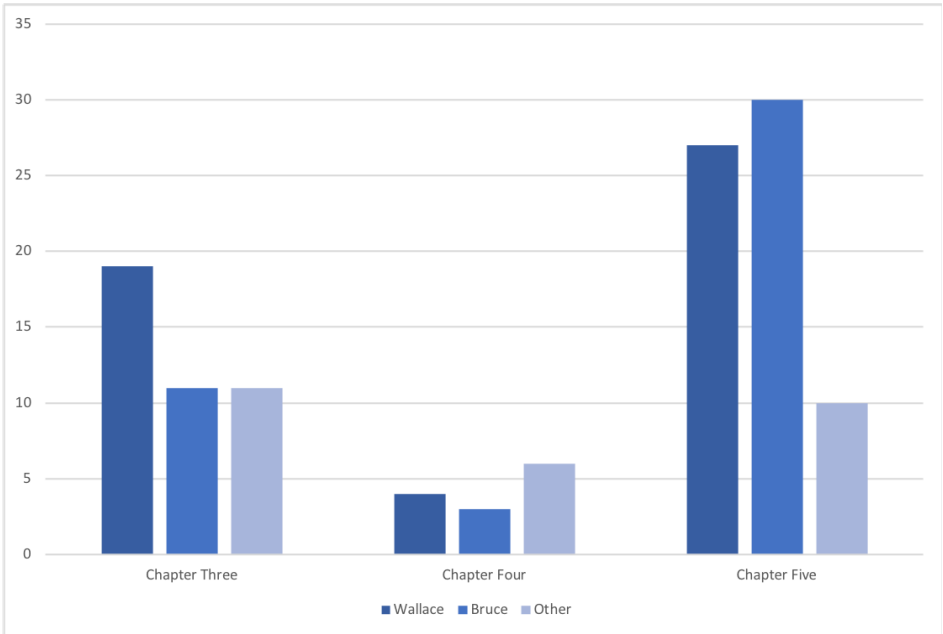

Figure 6.1: Commemorative acts dedicated to Wallace and Bruce in each chapter

[6] Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries,' 116.
[7] Penman, 'Reputations in Scottish History,' 16.

Looking at Chapter Three first, Wallace was the most popular subject in this chapter on commemorations in the built environment. The commemorations dedicated to Wallace account for 66% of the examples in the chapter, compared to 38% each for Bruce and the 'other' category.[8] Since these acts of commemoration are some of the most recognizable, particularly monuments, this may help to account for the prevailing notion that Wallace has many more commemorations dedicated to him than Bruce. Chapter Four, which considered the ceremonial aspects of commemoration, reveals that ceremonies commemorated events more than people. The 'other' category accounts for 55% of the acts of commemoration in this chapter. This reflects the popularity of anniversaries of battles and other key events from the Wars of Independence, particularly the Battle of Bannockburn. Amongst the moveable commemorations of Chapter Five, Bruce had more commemorations dedicated to him than Wallace. This suggests the stories of Bruce were prioritised over Wallace during this period, as this chapter was partially focused on texts. It also reflects the number of relics associated with Bruce that were being exhibited in the late nineteenth century.

Therefore, this thesis offers a more nuanced view of the commemorations of Wallace and Bruce. The amount they are commemorated varies greatly across the different types of commemoration, with Wallace being most popular in Chapter Three, but Bruce in Chapter Five and the 'other' category in Chapter Four. Though Wallace was, as many have argued before, commemorated the most overall, the number of commemorations dedicated to Bruce and other people and events from the Wars is not insignificant. In addition, the sheer amount to which Wallace and Bruce were commemorated compared to the other figures and events from the Wars shows how central these figures were to the wider commemoration of the Wars of Independence.

[8] These percentages do not equal 100% as some of the monuments were dedicated to more than one person or event.

6.3: Themes

This section will revisit each of the central themes of this thesis, locality, the role of the public, and historical accuracy, in order to illustrate the distinctive contributions of each.

Locality

There were four types of locality that influenced commemoration in this period, two of which are tied to place and two that display individual connections. The first of this latter category is ancestral locality, which refers to the acts of commemoration that were inspired by ancestral connections to the past. This was largely seen in the ceremonies outlined in Chapter Four, including the role of the Elgin family in the various commemorative acts dedicated to Bruce at Dunfermline Abbey Church. This was also seen with speeches at a number of the ceremonies, such as at the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1897 when 'a representative in the male line' of the Wallace family made a speech.[9] Ancestral locality was also seen in Chapter Three when the Countess of Buchan built a monument to her ancestor, Simon Fraser. This type of locality was also visible in Chapter Five, when editions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace* were dedicated to descendants of each man, and in the section on relics, such as the display of Bruce's helmet and sword owned by the Elgin family. The key feature of ancestral locality is that it was almost exclusively the preserve of the elite. Only important families could trace their family history back to the Middle Ages, and the associated relics, at this time. In addition, in most instances funds were necessary to display ancestral locality, such as the Countess of Buchan's monument, which she funded. Therefore, ancestral locality was the most exclusive type of locality in this period.

[9] 'Battle of Stirling Bridge Commemoration,' 14 Sep 1897.

The second type of individual locality is personal locality, which refers to the commemorations that were inspired by personal connections. An example of this is Carnegie's donations to various commemorative acts in his hometown of Dunfermline. Personal locality can also be seen in Carnegie's personal preference for Wallace when contributing to subscription campaigns. Personal locality could also be seen with the Ceres Bannockburn Memorial, when a wealthy American donated money because he had spent time in the area as a child. Another example from Chapter Three was Steill's bequest that funded the Wallace Statue in Aberdeen, because it was the hometown of one of his parents. Personal locality was also evident in Chapter Five in the artists who painted images from the Wars of Independence, who were almost exclusively Scottish. It may have been that they knew of the events and people from the Wars because they learned of them growing up, or it may indicate they felt a certain affinity with Scottish history because of their nationality. Like ancestral locality, displaying personal locality was also largely the preserve of the elite, as its display largely depended on having money to leave a bequest or to donate to a subscription campaign.

The other two types of locality can be characterised by their collective nature. Municipal locality refers to the ways in which towns and cities could display their growing power through commemoration. As has been argued throughout this thesis, one of the characterising features of the nineteenth century in Scotland was the increased sense of the importance of Scottish history that developed, partially as a reaction to displeasure with Scotland's place within the Union. At the same time as this growing sense of Scottishness, towns and cities were also gaining more power and autonomy as a means of delaying calls for a Scottish parliament or even more power at Westminster.[10] At the same time, urban centres were growing rapidly, and the population went from predominantly rural to largely urban.[11] This emphasis on local power and

[10] Morton, 'The First Home Rule Movement,' 113.
[11] A. Blaikie, (2010) 'Rituals, Transitions and Life Courses in an Era of Social Transformation,' in *History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1800-1900*, ed. T. Griffiths and G. Morton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 90.

identity can be seen through the commemoration of local history. Many examples of this came from Chapter Three, including the stained glass windows at Lerwick Town Hall displaying figures from Shetland's history, and the murals portraying important moments in Edinburgh's history at the City Chambers. It was also evident in the creation of a number of the statues and monuments. The 'Wee Wallace' in Stirling was used to illustrate the town's commitment to commemorating the Wars, despite the number of commemorative acts around the town. The Ceres Bannockburn Memorial helped to reinforce the tradition that the Ceres Games had been held in the town since the Middle Ages. Elderslie also used commemorations to reinforce a local tradition by creating a number of commemorative acts that helped secure its reputation as Wallace's birthplace. The Alexander III monument at Kinghorn showed how towns used whatever connections were available to them to join in on the wider trend of commemoration. These acts also helped generate national attention, as seen in the discussion of the opening ceremonies in Chapter Four, which included excursion trains and twenty-one-gun salutes from the larger cities. These ceremonies were described in detail in newspapers, helping to bring positive attention to a town. Municipal locality could also be seen in the exhibitions discussed in Chapter Five, which benefited towns as they drew large numbers and occasionally new infrastructure. In general, commemorations brought a lot of positive attention to a town, and they were also a way for towns to display some of the new power they were gaining in the nineteenth century.

The final type of locality is historic locality, which refers to the commemorations dedicated to historical people or events at a specific location. This was seen in the discussion of landmark objects in Chapter Three, which are aspects of the natural environment that become commemorative when they are associated with tales of the past. It was also apparent when commemorations were created to mark a location where something occurred, such as the monument to Alexander III marking the location of his death at Kinghorn. The clearest way to illustrate historic locality is through mapping. Figure 6.2 features all of the examples of commemoration from this thesis that can be associated with a location. The largest concentration of commemorations is

across the central belt, with some examples in the borders and along the east coast. This distribution is logical given that it also following the general population pattern of Scotland, and there are likely to be more commemorations where the majority of the population lives as there are more chances for commemorative acts to be made. This pattern also, however, generally follows the events of the Wars of Independence [Figure 6.3]. This correlation illustrates the role of historic locality, in that commemorations were largely being created in locations that were of importance during the Wars of Independence.

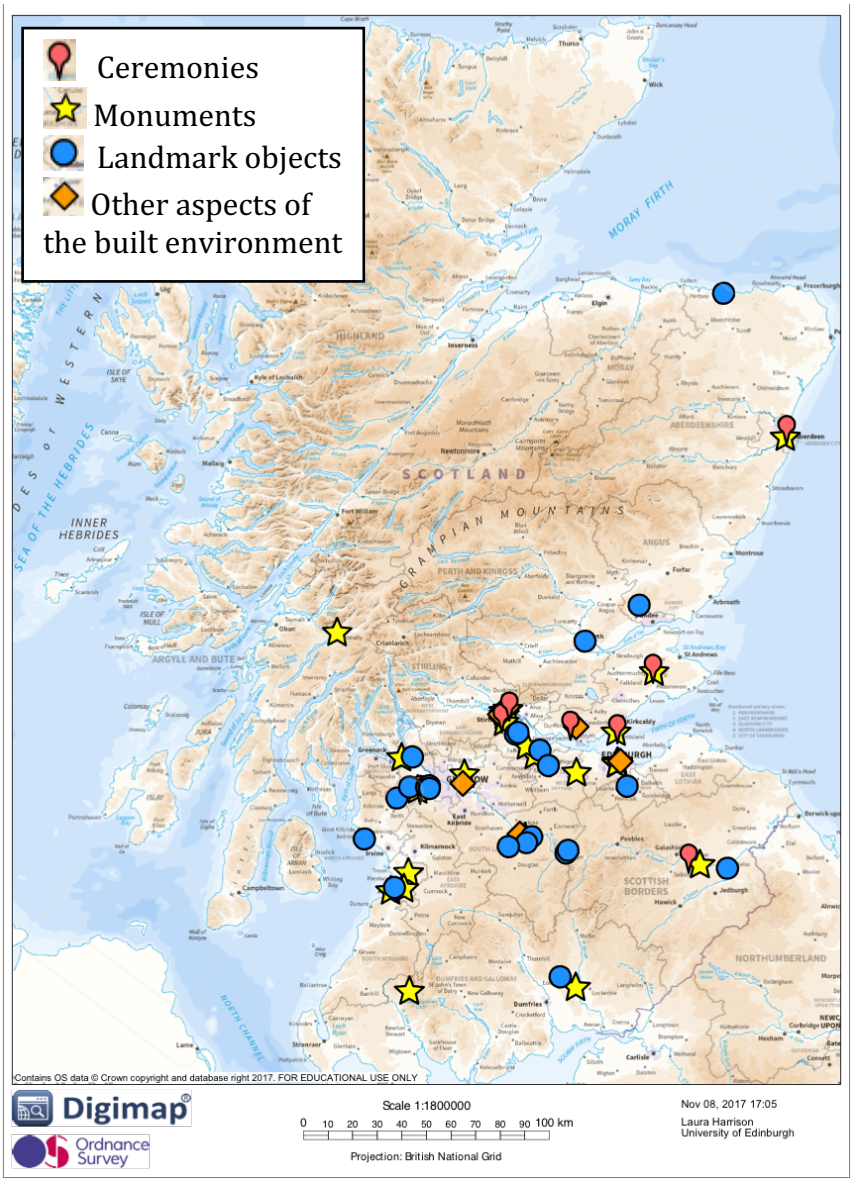

Figure 6.2: Map of all location-based commemorative acts, 1800-1939. Not pictured: stained glass window at Lerwick Town Hall, Shetland.

Figure 6.3: 'Scotland during the Wars, 1296-1329' (Penman[12])

A noticeable feature of both maps is the general lack of commemorations for the Wars of Independence in the northwest of Scotland. This may reflect historic locality since, as the second map reveals, fewer events from the Wars occurred in the Highlands. Since this was one of the impetuses for many of the commemorations, particularly those in Chapter Three, this would help to explain why there are fewer examples in the Highlands. Another explanation is

[12] M.A. Penman, (2014) *Robert the Bruce: King of Scots* (Yale: Yale University Press), xi.

that there was a smaller and more rural population in the Highlands during the period of this study, so there would have been fewer people to raise money for acts of commemoration. The final explanation is that the Highlands looked to different cultural touchstones that the rest of Scotland at this time, as is clearly seen with the commemoration of Jacobitism in the region. Other conflicts and stories became part of the cultural fabric instead, and that is what is commemorated. This shows the importance of considering place in commemoration. If one only looked at the number of commemorative acts dedicated to the Wars in this period, it suggests there was a lot of commemoration occurring in Scotland in this period, but mapping that data reveals there were also significant parts of the country that were not really engaging in these commemorations.

These four types of locality did not act in isolation, and very often interacted with one another. For example, the commemorations at Dunfermline Abbey showed the impact of all four types. Ancestral locality was seen in the Elgin family's involvement, personal locality in Carnegie's contributions to subscription campaigns, municipal locality in the decision to have the church tower bear Bruce's name, and historic locality in the fact that all of these commemorative acts were based on Bruce being buried at Dunfermline. In addition, some local commemorations also had national elements, such as the excursion trains to Aberdeen for the unveiling of the Wallace statue and the demonstrations for Scottish Home Rule at the Wallace Memorial in Elderslie. There were also a number of commemorations that were largely national in nature, such as the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone at the National Wallace Monument and the statues of Wallace and Bruce at Edinburgh castle. Finally, there were also some commemorations in this thesis that did not display locality at all, particularly the moveable commemorations in Chapter Five – a sacrifice of their movability was their connection to a place. However, the many examples of locality in this thesis illustrates how influential local connections were in this period and indicates that they should be considered alongside the typical national narratives about the role of commemorations.

It is my intention that this framework will be tested and altered by others who study the local impact of commemorations, in order to better understand its important influence. Commemorations are often thought of as a way of performing national identity, but this thesis has shown how often it is the local influence that is actually the impetus for commemoration. Considering both the national and local influences in more studies of commemoration would give a better indication of the many inspirations behind memorialisation.

Role of the Public

This thesis has been focused on public commemorations, and a central concern for each type of commemoration has been how different parts of society were included in both the creation and consumption processes. This varied greatly across the three major types of commemoration, particularly in terms the different roles the public played. This section will consider both how the public was included and excluded from the wider commemorative process.

There were a variety of ways in which members of the public could be involved in the process of commemoration. In terms of the planning process, there is evidence of several public meetings taking place about proposed commemorative acts, including one led by the Earl of Elgin at Dunfermline about plans for the plaque installed over Bruce's tomb. Plans were also often printed in newspapers, and people could write letters in response, as was the case with the statues at Edinburgh Castle. There were also public design competitions, such as for the statue of Wallace in Aberdeen. People were also encouraged to donate to subscription campaigns, and these lists were often shared publicly in newspapers, showing the social role of commemoration. People could also express their opinions by *not* engaging with the planning of commemorative acts. One example is the failed subscription campaign for commemorations dedicated to Bruce in the early nineteenth century, all of which did not advance past the planning stage due to a lack of funds.

There were also many opportunities for public engagement at unveiling ceremonies, as well as ongoing anniversaries. People would join processions

and attend ceremonies, and they occasionally instigated spontaneous acts, such as the singing of 'Scots Wha Hae' by a processing crowd. Members of the public could also read detailed accounts of these events in newspapers, thus engaging with them at a later date. In one instance, a ceremony inadvertently allowed members of the public to take a piece of history, when people took small trinkets from Bruce's tomb during the public display of his bones prior to their reinterment.

Once a commemorative act was in place, people could also visit the exhibitions, galleries, monuments, or buildings. In the case of texts, they could be passed between friends and family or given as gifts. The public also had control over their buying power, so they could choose which texts to purchase, and thus which ones were popular at the time. An area of commemoration that is almost exclusively in existence as a result of the public are landmark objects. The stories of these locations were passed between people, and they were only commemorative because people continued to be interested in them. In a similar way, the public has had a significant impact on the myth of Wallace's longsword, as the popular tale endures despite the efforts undertaken by scholars to show its inaccuracy.

For all of the ways in which the public could be included in commemoration, there were also many areas from which they were excluded. Generally, there were geographical and financial restrictions if people could not travel to a location or afford to see or buy something. There could also be educational restrictions, particularly amongst the texts. Members of the public needed certain skills in order to read some of the texts, such as the unmodernised editions of *The Bruce* and *Wallace*. The public was also largely excluded from the club culture because one had to be a member to receive the publications, and membership of many of the clubs was difficult to obtain outside of the upper classes. Therefore, they largely did not have access to the club books. At many of the ceremonies there were also exclusive elements, including dinners and private banquets.

The key question, then, is to what extent an average member of the public may have experienced commemorations dedicated to the Wars of

Independence in this period. It is clear that there is a fairly wide discrepancy in this. If a person was living in Stirling, for example, there were a large number of commemorations in the area that were part of the built environment. This was not the case in Inverness. It also largely depended on your interest and access to texts, and other moveable commemorations. Some acts of commemoration, however, were almost entirely driven by local, public efforts, such as landmark objects, and maintaining a local tradition about a story from the Wars of Independence would have been an act of commemoration available to the public. Overall, it is clear that the public generally gained power in the commemorative process in this period. At the turn of the nineteenth century commemoration was largely in the hands of wealthy antiquaries, but by the beginning of the twentieth century the public could more easily visit public galleries and museums, purchase books and other texts, and become involved in a subscription campaign for a local monument to be built.

It is tempting to consider the role of specific, influential players, such as Scott and Buchan, and when examining commemorations to the Wars of Independence in this period. This thesis has purposefully not done this in favour of prioritising the influence of the public in the commemorative process. Though commemoration in this period was largely driven by the upper classes, the lower classes still played a role in nearly every case study in this thesis, whether monetary, with their attendance at events and exhibits, passing along stories about the Wars, or expressing their opinions about the commemorative acts. Though it is often difficult to truly access the experience of the public, it is clear that they had an influence on this process and therefore they should not be overlooked.

6.4: Conclusion

The period from 1800 to 1939 in Scotland can be characterised in a number of ways – by the popularity for the Union before the growth of Scottish nationalism, as a time of urbanisation and industrialisation, by the changing land use and population patterns in the Highlands, as a period of widespread

emigration throughout the Empire, and as a time when Scottish identity was growing partially as a result of an increased interest in the Scottish past. It is because of this interest in Scottish history that there was an increase in acts of commemoration in this period, and these commemorations were used in a variety of ways, from the performance of identity to the development of culture.

This thesis has offered an in-depth understanding of how the Wars of Independence were commemorated in this period, in order to consider how the public interacted with these commemorations, and what they did added to the wider knowledge of the Wars of Independence. It showed the important role locality played in commemoration during this time, offering an alternative view to the lens of nationalism through which these commemorations have been viewed. The roles of different levels of society has also been considered, illustrating how commemoration was largely the preserve of the elite, but there were a number of ways in which members of the lower classes had agency. This thesis also offered a more nuanced view of the commemoration of Bruce in comparison to Wallace, and how their reputations influenced the other in this time. It also showed just how much the Wars of Independence were commemorated in this period, and the myriad different ways in which these people and events were memorialised.

Clearly, commemorations are not statues, paintings, chapbooks, or ceremonies, but rather physical manifestations of ideas, in this case ideas about what the medieval Wars of Independence meant and mean to the notion of Scotland and the Scottish people. It is this concept of objects and events becoming the embodiment of ideas about identity, nationhood, culture, and history that makes commemorations an important source for historical inquiry.

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Appendix One
Monuments to the Wars of Independence

Name	Date	Location	Form	Dedicated To	OS Maps?	OS Marking	Location
Wallace Stone & Sir Simon Fraser Stone	1784	Drumshoreland Muir, West Lothian	Stone	William Wallace, Simon Fraser	No		Rural
Wallace's Stone	1810	Wallacestone, Falkirk	Obelisk	William Wallace	1865: Stirling XXXI.9, survey 1860	Wallace's Stone	Rural
Wallace's Monument and Ornamental Urn	1814	Dryburgh, Berwickshire	Statue	William Wallace	1862: Berwick XXX.15, survey 1858 2015: 55.586550, -2.648650	Wallace's Statue; Urn Wallace's Statue	Rural
William Wallace Statue	1822	Lanark, Lanarkshire	Statue on building	William Wallace	No		Urban
Wallace Tower	1832	Ayr, Ayrshire	Bell tower	William Wallace	No		Urban
Wallace's Monument/Wallace Tower/Barnweill Monument	1855	Barnweill Hill, Ayrshire	Tower	William Wallace	1860: Ayr XXVIII.1, survey 1857 2015: 55.532996, -4.527856	Wallace's Monument Wallace's Monument	Rural
Wee Wallace	1859	Stirling, Stirlingshire	Statue on building	William Wallace	No		Urban
National Wallace Monument	1869	Stirling, Stirlingshire	Tower	William Wallace	1866: Perth and Clackmannan,	Wallace Monument	Urban

					CXXXIII.13, survey 1862 2015: 56.138611, -3.916593	Wallace Monument	
Bannockburn Memorial	1870	Bannockburn, Stirlingshire	Flagpole	Battle of Bannockburn	No		Urban
Bruce Statue	1877	Stirling Castle, Stirlingshire	Statue	Robert Bruce	1922: Stirlingshire nXVII.NE, revised 1914	Bruce Statue	Urban
Statue of Robert the Bruce	1879	Lochmaben, Dumfries and Galloway	Statue	Robert Bruce	No		Urban
Alexander III Memorial	1887	Kinghorn, Fife	Obelisk with cross	Alexander III	1895: Fifeshire 040.07, revised 1894 2015: 56.064316, -3.200217	Monument Mon	Urban
Wallace's Statue	1888	Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire	Statue	William Wallace	1902: Aberdeenshire 075.11, revised 1899/1900	Statue	Urban
Wallace, Bruce, Alexander III Statues	1889	Edinburgh, Midlothian	Statues on buildings	William Wallace, Robert Bruce	No		Urban
Wallace Monument	1900	Robroyston, Glasgow	Obelisk with Celtic cross	William Wallace	1912: Lanark 00.1.16, revised 1910	Wallace's Monument	Urban

					2015: 55.898789, -4.186929	Wallace's Monument	
Memorial to Sir John de Graeme	1912	Falkirk, Stirlingshire	Drinking fountain	John de Graeme	No		Urban
Wallace Memorial	1912	Elderslie, Renfrewshire	Obelisk	William Wallace	2015: 55.835577, -4.485463	Mon	Urban
The Bannockburn Memorial	1914	Ceres, Fife	Obelisk with seals	Battle of Bannockburn	No		Urban
Bruce's Flagstaff	1928	Dumbarton, Dumbartonshire	Flagpole	Robert Bruce	No		Urban
Wallace and Bruce Statues	1929	Edinburgh, Midlothian	Statue	Robert Bruce and William Wallace	No		Urban
Bruce's Stone	1929	Glentrool, Dumfries and Galloway	Engraved stone	Robert Bruce	1852: Kirkcudbrightshire, Sheet 21, survey 1849-50 2015: 55.091858, -4.483561	Site of Battle between the English and Scotch 1306-7 Bruce's Stone, Battle of Glentrool 1307	Urban
Burns and Wallace Cairn	1929	Auchincruive, Ayrshire	Cairn	William Wallace, Robert Burns	2015: 55.473842, -4.552300	Mon	Rural
Robert the Bruce Effigy	~1930	Loch Awe, Argyll and Bute	Statue	Robert Bruce	No		Urban

Bannockburn Memorial	1954	Bannockburn, Stirlingshire	Cairn	Battle of Bannockburn	2015: 56.093386, -3.936730	Cairn	Urban
Well at Scotlandwell	1958	Scotlandwell, Perthshire	Gazebo	Robert Bruce	1895: Fifeshire 026.04, revised 1894 2015: 56.201064, -3.316471	Scotland Well Scotland Well	Urban
Robert the Bruce Statue	1964	Bannockburn, Stirlingshire	Statue	Robert Bruce	2015: 56.093745, -3.939155	Monument	Urban
Braveheart Statue/Freedom	1996	Stirling, Stirlingshire	Statue	William Wallace	No		Urban
Flagpole at Ormond Hill	1997	Avoch, Black Isle	Flagpole	Andrew Murray	2015: 57.553339, -4.184486	Ormond Castle (remains of)	Rural
Bruce's Heart Memorial	1998	Melrose, Scottish Borders	Round marker	Robert Bruce	No		Urban
1320 and A' That	2001	Arbroath, Angus	Statue	Robert Bruce, Abbot Bernard and Declaration of Arbroath	No		Urban
Spirit of Scotland	2004	Loudon Hill, Ayrshire	Sculpture	William Wallace	No		Rural
Falkirk Cairn	2007	Falkirk, Stirlingshire	Cairn	Battle of Falkirk	No		Urban
Memorial to Sir John de Graeme	2008	Falkirk, Stirlingshire	Engraved tombstone	John de Graeme (aide to Wallace)	No		Urban

Robert the Bruce Statue	2011	Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire	Statue	Robert Bruce	No		Urban
Battle of Stirling Bridge Monument	Impending	Stirling, Stirlingshire	Sculpture	Battle of Stirling Bridge	n/a		Urban

Appendix Two
List of Chapbooks

Title	Date	Place of Publication	Publisher	Subject	Type of content	Illustrated?
'The Life of Sir William Wallace, The Scots Patriot'	1808	Edinburgh	Oliver & Boyd	William Wallace	History	Cover only (Drawing of Wallace and small flowers)
'The history of King Robt. Bruce, containing the memorable battle of Bannockburn'	1840-50	Glasgow	J. Brydone	Robert Bruce	History	Cover features Bruce slaying Comyn
'History of Sir William Wallace, the renowned Scottish champion'	1840-50	Glasgow	Printed for booksellers	William Wallace	History	Cover only (drawing of Wallace)
'The History of the Black Douglas, with an Account of the Battle of Otterburn'	1840-50	Glasgow	Francis Orr and Sons	James Douglas	History	No
'The Mill, Mill, O, Bruce's Address, My only joe and dearie, Cauld kail in Aberdeen, and the Broom of Cowdenknows'	1817	Edinburgh	Printed for booksellers	Robert Bruce	Song book	Cover only
'The Battle of Bannockburn; an old heroic ballad'	1801-1865	Edinburgh	Printed for booksellers	Battle of Bannockburn	Song book	Cover only
'The Life and Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland. With the valiant exploits of King Robert Bruce,'	1801-1865	Greenock	W. Scott	William Wallace; Robert Bruce	History; based on Blind Hary and Barbour	Cover only

'The History of King Robert the Bruce'	1801-1865	Montrose	James Watt	Robert Bruce	History	Yes
'The History of King Robert Bruce'	1801-1865	Glasgow	Printed for booksellers	Robert Bruce	History	Yes
'The Wallace Song Book'	1861	London	Printed for booksellers	William Wallace; Robert Bruce; Battle of Bannockburn	Song book	Cover only (drawing of Wallace)
'Sir William Wallace'	1801-1865	Glasgow	John Davidson	William Wallace	History	Yes
'King Robert the Bruce'	1801-1865	Glasgow	John Davidson	Robert Bruce	History	Yes
'Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: William Wallace'	1801-1865	London	Webb, Millington and Compy	William Wallace	History (children)	Yes
'Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: William Wallace'	1801-1865 (later edition)	London	Webb, Millington and Compy	William Wallace	History (children)	Yes
'Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: Robert Bruce'	1801-1865	London	Webb, Millington and Compy	Robert Bruce	History (children)	Yes
'A new collection of poems, on various subjects, by James Barrie, Bemersyde'	1824	Kelso	Alex Leadbetter	William Wallace	Poetry	No

'The Wallace Songster: A selection of the most popular songs sung at the concerts, theatres, &c.'	1801-1865	London	Published for booksellers	William Wallace; Robert Bruce; Battle of Bannockburn	Song book	Cover only (drawing of Wallace)
'The Life and Surprsng [sic] Adventures of that Renowned Hero, Sir William Wallace	1801-1865	Newcastle-on-Tyne	John Ross	William Wallace	History & poem	Yes
'The History and Surprising Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, The Hero of Scotland'	1801-1865	Newcastle-Upon-Tyne	W. R. Walker	William Wallace	History & poem	Yes
'History of Sir William Wallace, The Renowned Champion of Scotland'	1801-1865	Dumfries	Printed for booksellers	William Wallace	History	Cover only (seal)
'History of Sir William Wallace, the Renowned Scottish Champion'	1801-1865	Glasgow	Printed for booksellers	William Wallace	History	Cover only (drawing of Wallace)
'The History of the Renowned Sir William Wallace'	1801-1865	Glasgow	Archibald Paterson	William Wallace	History	Yes
'The Life and Adventures of Sir William Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland…with An Account of the Battle of Bannockburn'	1801	Glasgow	J. & M. Roberson	William Wallace; Robert Bruce	History	No
'The Gude Wallace'	1801-1865	Glasgow	Printed for booksellers	William Wallace	Poetry	Cover only (Drawing of Wallace)

'The History of Sir William Wallace'	1801-1865	Edinburgh	James Brydone	William Wallace	History (children)	Yes
'History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland'	1801-1865	Glasgow	Printed for booksellers	Robert Bruce	History	Cover only (Drawing of Bruce)
'History of the Life and Death of the Great Warrior, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland'	1801-1865	Belfast	A. Mayne	Robert Bruce	History	Cover only (Drawing of helmet, sword and shield)
'Wallace and Bruce' *missing cover*	1801-1865	unknown	unknown	William Wallace; Robert Bruce	History	Cover only (drawing of Bruce in armour with weapons around him)
'The Vacant Throne and its Claimants'	1801-1865	London	Groombridge & Sons	Robert Bruce	Retelling of Barbour	Yes
'Sir William Wallace'	1801-1865	Glasgow	James Gibb & Co.	William Wallace	History	Yes
'King Robert the Bruce	1801-1865	Glasgow	James Gibb & Co.	Robert Bruce	History	Yes

Appendix Three
All Commemoration Case Studies

Act of Commemoration	Date	Chapter and section	Dedicated to
Statues, exterior of Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh	1891-1893	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Alexander III, James Douglas
Wallace statue, Athenaeum building, Stirling	1851, placed 1859	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace
Wallace statue on his birthplace, Ayr	1819	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace
Wallace statue, St Nicholas Parish Church, Lanark	1882	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace
Wallace statue, National Wallace Monument, Stirling	1887	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace
Processional frieze, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh	1897	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Alexander III, Margaret, Maid of Norway, etc.
Central Hall murals, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh	1897	3.1: Building adornment	Robert Bruce, Battle of Bannockburn, Battle of Stirling Bridge
Mural, City Chambers, Edinburgh	1907	3.1: Building adornment	Robert Bruce
War memorial, Lansdowne Parish Church, Glasgow	1919	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
Oriel window, Town Hall, Lerwick	1883	3.1: Building adornment	Margaret, Maid of Norway
Stained-glass window, Dunfermline Abbey Church	1884	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce

Stained-glass windows, National Wallace Monument, Stirling	1885	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce, anonymous spearman and archer
Wallace window, St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh	1922	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace
Stained-glass windows, National War Memorial, Edinburgh	1927	3.1: Building adornment	William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Alexander III
Bannockburn memorial, Ceres	1914	3.2: Monuments	Battle of Bannockburn
Wallace statue, Aberdeen	1888	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Wallace and Bruce statues, Edinburgh Castle	1929	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
King Alexander III memorial, Kinghorn	1887	3.2: Monuments	Alexander III
Wallace memorial, Elderslie	1912	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Wallace statue, Dryburgh	1814	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Wallace stone, Drumshoreland Muir	1784	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Sir Simon Fraser stone, Drumshoreland Muir	1784	3.2: Monuments	Simon Fraser
Wallace's stone, Polmont	n/a	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Wallace's tree, Blairs	n/a	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
Wallace's oak and yew, Paisley	n/a	3.2: Monuments	William Wallace
King's Hall, Rannoch	n/a	3.2: Monuments	Robert Bruce
Bruce's Stone, Glentrool	1929	3.2: Monuments	Robert Bruce
Randolph Field, Stirling	n/a	3.2: Monuments	Thomas Randolph
Douglas's Camp	n/a	3.2: Monuments	James Douglas
Laying of foundation stone, Dunfermline Abbey Church	1818	4.1: Anniversaries	Robert Bruce
Anniversary of Bruce's death, Dunfermline Abbey Church	1819	4.1: Anniversaries	Robert Bruce
Plaque marking Bruce's grave, Dunfermline Abbey Church	1889	4.1: Anniversaries	Robert Bruce

Anniversary of Wallace's execution	Ongoing	4.1: Anniversaries	William Wallace
Battle of Bannockburn anniversary	Ongoing, but particularly 1814, 1864, 1914	4.1: Anniversaries	Battle of Bannockburn
Battle of Stirling Bridge anniversary	1897	4.1: Anniversaries	Battle of Stirling Bridge
Unveiling: Bannockburn memorial, Ceres	1914	4.2: Monument unveilings	Battle of Bannockburn
Unveiling: Wallace statue, Aberdeen	1888	4.2: Monument unveilings	William Wallace
Unveiling: Alexander III memorial, Kinghorn	1887	4.2: Monument unveilings	Alexander III
Laying of foundation stone, National Wallace Monument	1861	4.2: Monument unveilings	William Wallace, Battle of Bannockburn
Unveiling: National Wallace Monument	1869	4.2: Monument unveilings	William Wallace, Battle of Stirling Bridge
Stevenson, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland*	1830	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History*	1834	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
Stevenson, *Scalacronica*	1836	5.1: Texts	Battle of Bannockburn
Stevenson, *Documents Illustrative of Sir William Wallace*	1841	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals*	1850	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Innes, *The Brus*	1856	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Hamilton, *The History of the Life and Adventures and Heroic Actions of the renowned Sir William Wallace*	1722, 1812	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
Jamieson, *The Bruce; and Wallace*	1820	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
Skeat, *The Bruce*	1870	5.1 Texts	Robert Bruce
Watson, *Sir William Wallace*	1861	5.1 Texts	William Wallace
Scott, *Lord of the Isles*	1815	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce

Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*	1828-1831	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce, William Wallace
Scott, *Castle Dangerous*	1831	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce, James Douglas
Porter, *The Scottish Chiefs*	1809	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
The Life and Adventures of Sir Wm. Wallace, General and Governor of Scotland. With the valiant exploits of King Robert Bruce	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: William Wallace	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
Illustrated Historical Library for the Youth of Happy England: Robert Bruce	n/a	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
The Life and Surprsng [sic] *Adventures of that Renowned Hero, Sir William Wallace*	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The History of King Robert the Bruce	n/a	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Sir William Wallace	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The Life of Sir William Wallace, The Scots Patriot	1808	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
History of the Life and Death, of the Great Warrior Robert Bruce, King of Scotland	1840-1850	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
'Scots Wha Hae'	1793	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
'Wallace's Invocation to Bruce'	1819	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
'The Battle of Bannockburn; an old heroic ballad'	n/a	5.1: Texts	Battle of Bannockburn
'The Siller Gun'	1836	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Wallace, or, The Vale of Ellersie	1804	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The Shade of Wallace	1807	5.1: Texts	William Wallace

A new collection of poems	1824	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The Wallace Song Book	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace, Robert Bruce
Wallace: A Poem	1896	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The Martial Achievements of Sir William Wallace; An historical play in Five acts	1821	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
The History of King Robert the Bruce	n/a	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
Sir William Wallace	n/a	5.1: Texts	William Wallace
King Robert the Bruce	n/a	5.1: Texts	Robert Bruce
William Allan*, Heroism and Humanity*	1840	5.2: Paintings	Robert Bruce
William Allan*, The Battle of Bannockburn*	1850	5.2: Paintings	Battle of Bannockburn, Robert Bruce
John Phillip*, Robert the Bruce on the Eve of Bannockburn Receiving the Sacrament from the Abbot of Inchaffre*	1843	5.2: Paintings	Robert Bruce, Battle of Bannockburn
William Findlay, *The Liberation of Scotland (The Battle of Bannockburn)*	1914	5.2: Paintings	Battle of Bannockburn, Robert Bruce
John Hassall, *Bannockburn*	1914-1915	5.2: Paintings	Battle of Bannockburn
David Scott, *Wallace: Defender of Scotland*	1843	5.2: Paintings	William Wallace
William Bell Scott, *The Trial of Sir William Wallace at Westminster*	n/a	5.2: Paintings	William Wallace
(?)William Robertson, *William Wallace (d.1305)*	1740	5.2: Paintings	William Wallace
Glasgow Exhibition	1888	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce, Battle of Bannockburn, James Douglas
Fifeshire Literary, Scientific, and Antiquarian Society	1838	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce
Naval and Military Exhibition, Edinburgh	1889	5.3: Relics	n/a
Art, Loan, and Industrial Exhibition, Lanark	1890	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce, James Douglas

National Exhibition, Glasgow	1911	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce, William Wallace
Brooch of Lorne display, London	1931	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce
Procession to Wallace Monument, six swords	1861	5.3: Relics	William Wallace, John de Graeme, Robert Bruce, Battle of Stirling Bridge, James Douglas
Viewing of Bruce's bones, Dunfermline Abbey Church	1819	5.3: Relics	Robert Bruce
Wallace's sword, National Wallace Monument	n/a	5.3: Relics	William Wallace